



Daily Report

East Europe

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Tuesday
20 December 1988

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CONTENTS

20 December 1988

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Special Disarmament Committee Meets in Bucharest [AGERPRES]	1
Prague Coverage of Meeting [RUDE PRAVO 17 Dec]	1
Further Reportage [Sofia Radio]	1
GDR Press Notes Gathering [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Dec]	1
Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Sofia [BTA]	1
Received by Zhivkov [BTA]	1
Declaration Adopted [BTA]	2
CEMA Legal Commission Session Ends [BTA]	2

BULGARIA

Zhivkov Speech at BCP CC Plenum [RABOTNICHESKO DELO 14 Dec]	3
Government Bans Export of Certain Goods [BTA]	30

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CPSL Central Committee Discusses Plan [Bratislava Radio]	31
Jakes, Bilak Address Foreign Service Meeting [Prague Radio]	34
Indra Chairs Assembly Presidium Meeting [Prague Radio]	35
Vaclavik Received by Ranking Syrian Politicians [RUDE PRAVO 8 Dec]	35

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Bern Expels 2 Imprisoned East German Spies [Berne Radio]	36
U.S. Ambassador Presents Credentials [ADN]	36
Reportage on Visit by PLO Leader 'Arafat	36
Honecker, 'Arafat Remark on Ties [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Dec]	36
On Role of Palestinian State [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Dec]	36
Recent UN Speech Praised [NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Dec]	37

HUNGARY

December Session of Parliament Convenes	38
Stadinger Opens Meeting [MTI]	38
Assembly Approves Agenda [Budapest Radio]	38
Draft Budget To Be Discussed [MTI]	38
National Assembly Session Ends [Budapest Radio]	38
Grosz' Attitude Toward Reforms Viewed [Frankfurter/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE 20 Dec]	39
Communique on Central Committee Meeting Issued [NEPSZABADSAG 19 Dec]	39
MSZMP Delegation Returns From Warsaw [MTI]	42
PPF Delegation Returns From Visit to Poland [MTI]	42
2500 Students, Teachers Stage Protest [Budapest Radio]	42
'Alternative Groups' Organize Budapest Meeting [MTI]	42
Csongrad County Party Elects First Secretary [Budapest Radio]	42
Increase in Licenses for New Press Publication [MAGYAR HIRLAP 14 Dec]	43
Church Groups Hail Gorbachev's UN Proposal [MTI]	43
Chief Rabbi on New Jewish Cultural Association [MAGYAR HIRLAP 6 Dec]	43
Romanian Minorities Hold National Congress [NEPSZABADSAG 9 Dec]	44
Hundreds of Refugees Flee Romania Daily [London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH 14 Dec]	45
Slovak Federation Elects New Leaders [MTI]	46
First Hungarian-Soviet Commercial House Founded [MAGYAR HIRLAP 10 Dec]	46

Janos Berecz Visits Vienna, Talks With Leaders [MTI]	46
Mayor Zilk Holds Talks With Grosz, Nemeth [Vienna DIE PRESSE 10-11 Dec]	46
Trade With Iran To Reach \$400 Million in 1989 [Tehran IRNA]	47
PPF Supports Israel Friendship Society [MTI]	47
Trade Talks With U.S. Take Place [MTI]	47

POLAND

Olechowski on Foreign Policy Issues [PAP]	48
ZSL Presidium Earmarks Funds for Armenia [PAP]	49
Troops Return From UN Middle East Duty [PAP]	49
Party Control, Auditing Commission Head Changed [Warsaw Radio]	49
New Chairman Discusses Role [Warsaw TV]	49
New Officials Appointed, Biographies Reported	50
Council of Ministers [TRYBUNA LUDU 10-11 Dec]	50
Internal Trade Ministry [TRYBUNA LUDU 8 Dec]	50
Education Undersecretaries [TRYBUNA LUDU 12 Dec]	50
18th Anniversary of Shipyard Events Commemorated [PAP]	51
Walesa Holds Press Conference 15 Dec [TRYBUNA LUDU 16 Dec]	51
Jacek Kuron on Solidarity Development [Vienna PROFIL 19 Dec]	51
PRON Presidium Urges Roundtable Debates [PAP]	53
Reportage on Politburo 13 Dec Session	53
Proceedings Reported [TRYBUNA LUDU 14 Dec]	53
Members Interviewed on Meeting [Warsaw Radio]	54
Plenum Set for December [TRYBUNA LUDU 7 Dec]	54
OPZZ Vice Chairman on Reform, New Government [PAP]	54
Economic Committee on State Enterprises' Finances [PAP]	55
Jaruzelski Speech at Unification Fete Reported [TRYBUNA LUDU 16 Dec]	55
Orzechowski Interviewed on Socialism [ZYCIE PARTII 30 Nov]	57
Olesiak Views Agricultural Problems [DZIENNIK BALTYCKI 25 Nov]	60

ROMANIA

Ceausescu Delivers Speech to Agriculture Plenum [SCINTEIA 17 Dec]	63
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YUGOSLAVIA

Loncar Holds Talks With EC Officials [Belgrade Radio]	71
Mikulic Receives Albanian Foreign Trade Minister [TANJUG]	71
Trade Protocol Signed [TANJUG]	71
SAWPY Discusses Albanian TV Transmissions [TANJUG]	72
Moscow Ceremony Honors Dead Air Force Pilots [TANJUG]	72
Yugoslav, Soviet Scholars on 1948 Conflict [TANJUG]	73
Presidency Discusses Dizdarevic Visit to GDR [TANJUG]	74
Bosnia To Replace 'Neum Affair' Officials [TANJUG]	74
Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP Chooses Candidates [TANJUG]	75
Presidency Elects New Members [TANJUG]	75
New Internal Secretary [TANJUG]	75
FEC Presents Draft Decision on Social Plan [TANJUG]	75

Special Disarmament Committee Meets in Bucharest
AU1712170688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1640 GMT 17 Dec 88

["Working Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 17/12/1988—A working meeting of the foreign ministers [as received] of the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty took place in Bucharest. In a friendly working atmosphere, the current stage of the all-European conference in Vienna was examined and the socialist countries' wish for that meeting to end with substantial, balanced results was reiterated.

Attending the meeting for Romania was Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Prague Coverage of Meeting x
AU2012080388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
17 Dec 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] The deputy foreign ministers of the Warsaw Pact member states assessed the state of the Vienna meeting of signatory countries at a meeting held in Bucharest [date not given]. They stated that the socialist countries are prepared to do everything to enable the Vienna meeting to be concluded in the nearest future with a comprehensive positive concluding document. The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Pavel Sadovsky, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Further Reportage
AU2012081888 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] A meeting of the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact member countries took place in Bucharest on 16 December. In a businesslike and friendly atmosphere they reviewed the situation at the Vienna meeting of the representatives of the CSCE. The readiness of the allied countries to comprehensively cooperate in completing the meeting in the near future with significant and positive results was again confirmed.

GDR Press Notes Gathering
AU2012090688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16 Dec 88 p 7

[Text] Bucharest (ADN)—A meeting of a special disarmament committee of Warsaw Pact member states took place in Bucharest between 13 and 15 December. The meeting was attended by representatives from the foreign and defense ministries of the allied states. In consideration of the documents of the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee and the Budapest meeting of the Foreign Ministers' Committee, the participants discussed questions concerning the Warsaw

Pact states' preparation of the forthcoming negotiations on reducing armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, and measures for strengthening confidence and security in Europe. Emphasis was put on the importance of the measures, which were initiated by the Warsaw Pact states in the field of disarmament in the past, as well as on the practical steps for their implementation, which created the favorable basis for an early beginning and the successful implementation of the announced negotiations. In this context, particular mention was made of the special importance of the decisions on the unilateral reduction of Soviet forces, which were made by the USSR in accordance with its allies.

Pact Defense Ministers Meet in Sofia
AU1712134188 Sofia BTA in English
2142 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 16 (BTA)—Army General Milan Vachek, minister of national defence of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defence of the German Democratic Republic, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence of the Hungarian People's Republic, Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defence of the Polish People's Republic, Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defence of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Army General Dimitriy Yazov, minister of defence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, arrived here for the session of the Committee of Ministers of Defence of the States Party to the Warsaw Treaty, which will be held in Sofia tomorrow.

Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, also arrived for the session.

The participants in the meeting were welcomed by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Received by Zhivkov
AU1712170088 Sofia BTA in English
1611 GMT 17 Dec 88

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, stressed today the major importance of the speech which the Soviet party leader and head of state, Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, delivered at the 43rd session of the UN General Assembly, and more specifically of its part covering matters of disarmament.

Talking to Warsaw Treaty military chiefs who attended the regular session of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers Committee here, the Bulgarian party leader and head of state expressed full support for the sweeping Soviet initiatives, which have met with a wide-ranging

response around the world. At the same time, it was emphasized that the Warsaw Treaty countries view disarmament as a two-way process and expect the West to reciprocate.

Mr Todor Zhivkov received Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defence of Bulgaria, Army General Milan Vachek, minister of national defence of Czechoslovakia, Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defence of the GDR, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence of Hungary, Army General Florian Siwicki, minister of national defence of Poland, Colonel General Vasile Milea, minister of national defence of Romania, Army General Dimitriy Yazov, minister of defence of the Soviet Union, Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty Member States, and Army General Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces, who briefed him on the agenda of the session. The Bulgarian leader expressed satisfaction with the results achieved and emphasized that the problems discussed are of great importance for the implementation of the ideas of new political thinking, for the restructuring in the socialist countries.

Mr Todor Zhivkov familiarized the members of the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers Committee with the tasks which the Bulgarian party and state leadership and the entire Bulgarian people are solving at this stage in fulfilment of the guidelines for restructuring in all spheres of life, and spoke about the proceedings of the plenum which the CC of the BCP completed this week.

Declaration Adopted

*AU1712163988 Sofia BTA in English
1620 GMT 17 Dec 88*

[“On the Warsaw Treaty Defence Ministers Committee Session]

[Text] Sofia, December 17 (BTA)—With the minister of national defence of Bulgaria in the chair, the Committee of Ministers of Defence of the States Party to the Warsaw Treaty held its regular session here today.

The session was attended by the ministers of defence of the member countries, by the commander-in-chief and by the chief of staff of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member states.

Under instructions from their governments, the ministers of defence considered and discussed the data on the overall correlation of forces and the numbers of the basic types of weapons between the Warsaw Treaty member states and the NATO countries and adopted on this matter a requisite declaration of the Committee of Ministers of Defence of the States Party to the Warsaw Treaty. As agreed, the declaration will be made public in due course.

The session was held in a businesslike atmosphere, in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding.

CEMA Legal Commission Session Ends

*AU1512180188 Sofia BTA in English
1707 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 15 (BTA)—The second session of the CMEA Permanent Commission on Legal Questions ended today. It was attended by delegations from Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

“We viewed materials of comparative-legal character about the national legislations of our countries, which would regulate the legal relations. We discussed some questions of the sphere of contract law, production cooperation. We discussed the opportunity for establishing of arbitration between the interested sides for resolution of disputes which have emerged in the interpretation or fulfillment of international agreements,” said Ms. Svetla Dasklova, minister of justice of Bulgaria.

“I think that the results of the session are positive,” said Mr. Boris Kravtsov, minister of justice of the USSR. “The establishing of legal base is of importance for the realization of the tasks related to the restructuring of the mechanism of socialist economic integration. In Sofia, we signed documents which will cooperate to the establishing of direct relations between enterprises, for the establishing of joint enterprises and associations.”

The session adopted a plan for the work of the CMEA Permanent Commission on Legal Questions for the 1989-1990 period.

Mr. Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the participants in the session.

Zhivkov Speech at BCP CC Plenum
AU1512201088 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 14 Dec 88 p 1-5

["Speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov," general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, at the 13 December session of the BCP Central Committee Plenum held on 13-14 December: "On Further Implementing in Practice the July Strategy in Restructuring Our Society"]

[Text] Comrades,

Recently, at several of its meetings, the Politburo discussed pressing problems of restructuring in our country and the ensuing tasks, which must be incorporated in our economy and other areas of life starting at the beginning of next year. Because of the special importance of these problems and their significance in further developing the renewal processes, it has been decided to discuss them at the BCP Central Committee.

What do I have in mind?

1. It is necessary to reevaluate many of our approaches used until now, in the spirit of the new realities in our country and the world.

—The accumulated experience prompts new solutions, related to our entire economy and the system of managing our society.

2. New issues emerged in the process of restructuring, while the acuteness of certain unresolved issues in the economic sphere and social relations has been exacerbated.

3. There still exist several fundamental problems, which we found difficult to resolve.

Time was very short, and in addition, many cardinal aspects of renewal, in the basis and superstructure of our society, have not been sufficiently clarified, regardless of the fact that we strived to utilize the restructuring experience of other socialist countries, primarily of the USSR.

—Now, especially after the discussion in the Politburo, we can pose those issues and advance toward their resolution.

In accordance with this the Politburo assessed that steadily conducting the strategy of restructuring at the present stage, we must eliminate everything which prevents an advance along the entire front.

It is not difficult to prove that economic issues are in the center of restructuring.

—Economy has always been a determining sphere in developing the entire system of social relations. It is on the state of economy that the issues of reaching the supreme goal of our society, and ensuring personal prosperity and well-being depend.

—Simultaneously, as already had been pointed out, both from the viewpoints of our internal development and the new factors in the contemporary world we are facing problems of fundamental character.

Hence, I mean problems, which are so important and pressing that in a certain sense they are a touchstone of the progress of restructuring itself, and the correctness of its theory and practice.

Posing and discussing those problems, we as the Central Committee must work out a comprehensive political assessment of the progress up until now of restructuring and its forthcoming tasks.

I. On the Progress of Restructuring in Our Country and the Directions of Its Further Implementation

Comrades, when we speak about restructuring in our country, its strategy and tactics, and even its ideology and psychology, we must connect this historical act with the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum.

The merit of the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum is well known:

—If the 13th BCP Congress formed a new strategic course, the course of a qualitative new growth, the plenum defined this course as a course of revolutionary restructuring in our society.

Practical experience shows that the approach toward working out and adopting a concept, which represents the result of the work of many scientists and specialists, and the collective brain of the Politburo and Central Committee, is correct and indispensable.

—The party acquired conceptual and political visions of the new directions of restructuring and further constructing socialism in Bulgaria.

—A national party conference took place, and it confirmed the July Concept.

The time after the July Plenum was an important period of our development. The process of constructing the foundations of self-management began.

—Self-managing organizations and respective self-management organs were established in various sectors.

—A similar process developed in the territorial sphere: New municipalities and oblasts were established.

—Important changes took place in the political superstructure, and in particular, related to the structure and functions of the Council of Ministers and of the National Assembly commissions.

—Essential changes took place in the structure and apparatus of the party organs in accordance with our new postulates on separating party functions from the functions of state organs.

—The public organizations are also involved in a restructuring process.

—As a result of the measures adopted in this respect, a gigantic bureaucratic apparatus was eliminated at the center and on a local scale.

—Along with the establishment of self-managing organizations and their respective organs in the intellectual sphere, the major part of the tasks connected with laying the foundations of the self-management system will be accomplished.

This system will undoubtedly be further specified and improved, but its foundations already exist. Implemented in practice, this process will gradually create a new method of functioning in our comprehensive social system.

—Prerequisites exist for the construction of a basically new type of social communities in the economic, political-social, and intellectual spheres.

—As a result of all this, we have reached a stage in which the July Concept can no longer be considered solely from the point of view of its theoretical possibilities. It will be evaluated according to the extent to which it applies to practical life as well, according to the extent to which it becomes an everyday life experience in our development.

—This will undoubtedly be a complicated and prolonged process that will be characterized by ups and downs, by greater and smaller difficulties.

—Both the theoretical postulates and the practical measures will be further improved.

For this reason it would be incorrect to create an idealized image of restructuring and of its results, to idealize our views and approaches. The most important fact is that, following the July plenum, we are implementing a strategy of revolutionary restructuring based upon the intention of radically renewing the people's lives with the people's participation.

Naturally, we should never forget Lenin's approach which, when he was in similar situations, asked himself the question: Have we done the optimal in a given moment? Yes, this is a very important approach, indeed. I will dwell on this aspect in a short while. At this point, however, we should stress a fundamental requirement related to the following aspects:

—The requirement to search for, to draw conclusions from, and to correctly guide the leading trend of development, so as to avoid being oppressed by certain negative factors, or examples, as Lenin said, because this would be a deplorable political mistake;

—the opposite would signify losing the ability to promote the chosen strategy; it would mean a loss of confidence in the correctness of the cause: the restructuring cause, to which no alternative exists in our country.

Our successes and shortcomings should be assessed from this point of view.

In this connection the Politburo considers it necessary to inform the Central Committee on the progress achieved in the implementation of the current tasks in the economic and social spheres.

It is a well-known fact that over several years, following the 1956 April Plenum, the Bulgarian economy developed at an exceptionally high rate.

—Throughout this period, until the end of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we were among the first countries in the world in regard to the rates of growth of the total social product, the national income, and a number of other basic economic indices.

It is also a well-known fact that in the years that followed—particularly during the Eight 5-Year Plan—these rates visibly declined. At the same time a certain influence was exercised by mainly external factors, as well as by the fact that the April plenum model of our development had exhausted its possibilities.

This is precisely why we adopted the correct strategy of promoting a qualitatively new growth in the economic sphere, and this method promptly produced its results.

According to information provided by competent state organs, the following results will be achieved in the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan:

—An average annual increase of approximately 5.6 percent will be obtained, which will be entirely based on the growth of social labor productivity;

—reduction of material expenditures (excluding expenditures for amortization deductions) at an annual rate of approximately 1.6 percent per 100 leva worth of production, which demonstrates the gradual transition to a resource-saving growth;

—an approximately 9-percent average annual increase of production profitability per 100 leva worth production funds;

—a 4.5-percent annual average increase of commodity turnover and an 18-percent increase of everyday services to the population for the period under review.

—Self-managing organizations and respective self-management organs were established in various sectors.

—A similar process developed in the territorial sphere: New municipalities and oblasts were established.

—Important changes took place in the political superstructure, and in particular, related to the structure and functions of the Council of Ministers and of the National Assembly commissions.

—Essential changes took place in the structure and apparatus of the party organs in accordance with our new postulates on separating party functions from the functions of state organs.

—The public organizations are also involved in a restructuring process.

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—Along with the establishment of self-managing organizations and their respective organs in the intellectual sphere, the major part of the tasks connected with laying the foundations of the self-management system will be accomplished.

This system will undoubtedly be further specified and improved, but its foundations already exist. Implemented in practice, this process will gradually create a new method of functioning in our comprehensive social system.

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—This will undoubtedly be a complicated and prolonged process that will be characterized by ups and downs, by greater and smaller difficulties.

—Both the theoretical postulates and the practical measures will be further improved.

For this reason it would be incorrect to create an idealized image of restructuring and of its results, to idealize our views and approaches. The most important fact is that, following the July plenum, we are implementing a strategy of revolutionary restructuring based upon the intention of radically renewing the people's lives with the people's participation.

Naturally, we should never forget Lenin's approach which, when he was in similar situations, asked himself the question: Have we done the optimal in a given moment? Yes, this is a very important approach, indeed. I will dwell on this aspect in a short while. At this point, however, we should stress a fundamental requirement related to the following aspects:

—The requirement to search for, to draw conclusions from, and to correctly guide the **leading trend of development**, so as to avoid being **oppressed** by certain negative factors, or examples, as Lenin said, because this would be a deplorable **political mistake**;

—the opposite would signify **losing the ability** to promote the chosen strategy; it would mean a **loss of confidence** in the correctness of the cause: the restructuring cause, to which no alternative exists in our country.

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It is also a well-known fact that in the years that followed—particularly during the Eight 5-Year Plan—these rates visibly declined. At the same time a certain influence was exercised by mainly external factors, as well as by the fact that the April plenum model of our development had exhausted its possibilities.

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According to information provided by competent state organs, the following results will be achieved in the first 3 years of the current 5-year plan:

—An average annual increase of approximately 5.6 percent will be obtained, which will be entirely based on the growth of social labor productivity;

—reduction of material expenditures (excluding expenditures for amortization deductions) at an annual rate of approximately 1.6 percent per 100 leva worth of production, which demonstrates the gradual transition to a resource-saving growth;

—an approximately 9-percent average annual increase of production profitability per 100 leva worth production funds;

—a 4.5-percent annual average increase of commodity turnover and an 18-percent increase of everyday services to the population for the period under review.

On this basis, and in accordance with the favorable domestic and international conditions which are mapped out for our national economy in 1989, compared with the current 1988, the following rates of increase are envisaged:

- a 6.2 percent increase in the national income
- a 6.4 percent increase in labor productivity;
- a 12.2 percent increase in commodity income for the domestic market.

In addition to this, we should point out that in determining this and a number of other indices, a certain reserve is envisaged with a view to the dynamic development of the needs for technical innovations and for the solution of the most important problems in the social sphere.

The hitherto achieved results provide for the accelerated development of structure-determining trends in industry which are envisaged by the 5-year plan—such as electronics, the biotechnological and chemical industry, the machine-building industry, and others.

With a view to increasing the country's economic power, to intensifying the progressive changes in the economic structure, and to increasing the social effectiveness of the economic sector, practical actions are expanding in the following directions:

—efforts aimed at fully utilizing the most updated opportunities of integration with socialist countries;

—efforts to attract foreign investments through the establishment of joint enterprises and economic associations, the development of free trade zones, and other forms of partnership with nonsocialist countries.

Prerequisites for a more active social policy will be created as a result of this.

More favorable economic conditions have come into existence for increasing the production of consumer goods and services for the population. This results, among other things, from the potential of industrial enterprises belonging to the "A" group, from individual and collective efforts of the citizens, and from the introduction of small specialized enterprises, and so forth.

It appears:

—that the real per capital income of the population for the last 3 years should record an 11 percent increase;

—that the average labor wages for 1988 should amount to 244 leva;

—that, along with the gradual introduction of the basic wage schedule, the social assets of various categories of working people should increase. The wages of some of these categories have already increased considerably.

Special attention was devoted to the socioeconomic development of settlements in border areas, where a number of tax exemptions have been introduced; where the wages of working people have been increased; where stimulating credits for housing construction have been granted; where new resources for the development of the social infrastructure and other facilities have been allocated.

The following conclusion can be drawn from this: Restructuring has produced and is still producing an increasing number of significant results. They stem from the splendid opportunities of socialist society, from the efforts of the working class, the agricultural workers, and of our intelligentsia.

Nevertheless, the satisfaction at the successes achieved in this respect has nothing in common with self-complacency. The stage which our country is entering, the present realities, and the increasing needs pose even greater new requirements.

Economic restructuring should further guarantee an accelerated development of productive forces and appropriate changes in production and in other social spheres.

—This means that fundamental changes should be made at the basis and in the superstructure of society, that a new upsurge should be guaranteed in the increase in the people's living standard.

It is quite obvious that in order to achieve all this, simple operational measures in eliminating some of the current shortcomings are not enough.

What is the real problem we are facing today, more than a year after the July plenum?

According to the Politburo, it is necessary today to make a drastic change in the practical implementation of the July plenum strategy and to clear the path for a broad advance along the entire front.

—In this context, however, the questions related to the approaches used in implementing restructuring are of decisive importance.

At the present stage of development we are facing three realities of particular importance, which require a reevaluation of some of our approaches.

The first reality applies to a qualitatively new stage in the development of worldwide productive forces on the basis of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, to the profound and comprehensive changes at the basis and in the superstructure, as well in the forms of organizations and in the systems of values.

The main problem today is how to "inscribe ourselves" in these processes and how we will implement in our social reality the premises incorporated in the July Concept while taking into consideration the new historical contents.

This will be a complicated process. Its internal and international aspects are equally important. However, we must fully understand that we have no other choice.

The issue is not only in favorably combining "internal" and "external" factors, but in turning this new historical content into the essence of our development as a socialist state.

The second reality, which requires improving the approach toward conducting restructuring in our country, is related to the processes which are under way in the socialist countries.

—These processes are comprehensive and dynamic. They create a new situation from political, economic, and ideological standpoints.

—The process of restructuring in the countries of the socialist community, and first of all in the USSR, have a special importance for us.

—The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference took place in the USSR. Our party greeted it as an event of exceptional importance while it was taking place. There is no qualitative difference between the processes that are taking place in our country and the fraternal Soviet country.

—The preparation of a CEMA common market is under way.

The new and main factor is that an international experience of restructuring has begun to emerge. It is on this basis that Marxism-Leninism is being developed and enriched as theory, methodology, and ideology.

The third reality refers to the issue that while the general development of the country is steady—without political, social, and economic shocks—the process of restructuring encounters serious difficulties from many points of view.

The main difficulty springs from the fact that until now we could not find a satisfactory answer to the main question:

—how to overcome the alienation from the means of production and property, and from some state organs, which has been created in the indirect producers.

At the July Plenum it was already pointed out that this issue is the core of restructuring on which everything else depends. In this context, this is also the fundamental and political issue of restructuring at the present stage.

The ideas and first practical steps of restructuring did not remain separate from the basic processes in our society. They were greeted with interest. The people objectively found themselves in a situation in which they were required to think and express their assessment and conclusion of the issues. However, it is clear that we could therefore not eliminate the causes, which are in the foundation of the aforementioned question.

—In such a situation it is clear why the cause of restructuring is still having difficulty in reaching the millions of people, and why no adequate social activity is being developed.

—To this we must also add certain difficulties in the economy and the social sphere.

No innovative cause can really reveal its advantages at once. Time is needed for this.

—Simultaneously, it must be said that restructuring in our country does not begin from null. A solid foundation, which allows us to achieve a significant initial result at the present stage, has been created throughout the years of socialist construction.

Along with everything else this means that millions of people have directly started to feel the change. This is characteristic of the present stage of restructuring.

Now, from the distance of time, we can better see the causes of our difficulties.

We failed to ensure real economic prerequisites: The system of regulating instruments and methods of management proved unsuccessful in many aspects because of the lack of experience.

On such a basis it was impossible:

—to ensure normal conditions of full-fledged functioning on the part of the political system's new units;

—to further develop the process of restructuring of the organs of management;

—to develop a new legal system, which was to insert new contents in the municipalities and oblasts as self-managing communities;

—to better prepare the reform of the legal superstructure;

—to consistently reduce the bureaucratic apparatus.

What is most important: This mechanism and the regulating instruments could not reach man and his interests and could not undermine his alienation from the means of production.

—In such an atmosphere it was only natural that in many cases the act of transferring the objects of social property took place in a lethargic and formal manner. The other side of the issue is that the attempt to implement restructuring without fully reforming the political system did not produce satisfactory results.

—This happened not only because we could not solve the issue of the main economic regulating instruments, but also because, led by the consideration to avoid shocks, we preserved many obsolete structures.

As was already pointed out, no shocks were allowed, and we also have had successes in implementing the tasks. However, the main issue—to make restructuring reach the millions of people—could not be solved.

—The reform of the political system, which correctly started as a "revolution from the top," was not supplemented by a "revolution from the bottom," and by real changes of the structures in which the commodity producers are functioning.

—Structures were preserved in which obsolete visions and approaches and the old mentality still exist.

Consequently, we must advance toward the next phase of restructuring. Life confirms the correctness of the July Concept. The most important thing now is to ensure its further implementation in practice.

As you can see, exceptionally important tasks must be solved by us as the BCP Central Committee, party, and people.

II. On Restructuring Certain Organizational Forms and Economic Mechanisms

Comrades, the concept approved by the July Plenum worked out fundamental premises on further developing the economy. We shall implement these premises by taking into consideration both our possibilities and the changes which are taking place in the contemporary world. Developing the production capacities must be the main consideration in our searches and efforts.

We do not in any way underestimate the role of the subjective factor. However, if we do not raise the production capacities to a new level, we will not be able to affect any issue related to the subjective factor, intellectual life, and the people's standard of living.

The crucial factor in this case is to achieve a new technological method of production, which is the core of the new historical contents of the world socioeconomic progress.

—From this point of view we must specify the tasks in the area of the structural and technological changes, in the forms and mechanisms of managing the socialist property, and in all directions of our socioeconomic development.

The following premises are to be examined from this position:

- the production structure;
- the economy rates;
- investments and investment policy;
- the new technologies;
- developing and applying science;
- the human factor;
- the pace of economic growth.

We must find in practice the most correct and shortest ways of creating a new method of management, which will ensure that:

- all population strata are directly attracted to economic life;
- property relations are fundamentally restructured with the view to forming qualitatively new stimuli and interest in the final results of the activity of every socialist worker.

This can be achieved through further developing the fundamental premises on the unity and indivisibility of socialist property, against the background of the variety of forms of its management and administration.

The measures applied until now in this sphere did not produce satisfactory results. Therefore we need a new revolutionary vision of the forms of management and the mechanisms of economic life, which must better correspond to the nature of socialism, and spring from the July Concept.

—It is necessary to create guarantees of developing all forms of socialist property: state, cooperative, municipal, mixed, property of the public organizations, and so forth.

—Our solutions must aim at asserting the working people in the enterprises, in the cooperatives, and in the other voluntarily formed collectives, as agents of economic activity.

The first problem we must solve relates to further improving the national economy's organizational forms and structure.

It is imperative to make the next and decisive step in implementing the July Concept.

—This means eliminating all structures which prevent the organizations of commodity producers from turning into really self-managing economic organizations, which develop or use the command-administrative methods of management.

—We need forms that correspond to the new production capacities, and which create conditions of their development.

—We must give space to the consolidation of such organizational forms, through which production relations will be implemented in a most direct and complete manner, by taking into consideration the interests of the individuals and the commodity producers, and on this basis they will "function" for the interests of society.

In this context, wherever conditions are ripe, we must proceed to establishing a company organization in the national economy's branches and activities. According to the assessment of specialists in the field of electronics for example, the necessity emerges of creating eight or nine companies on the basis of the existing structures. Perhaps it is purposeful to proceed toward forming these companies.

A categorical premise is necessary: We do not mean the reorganization of the primary units—plants and so forth—but the elimination of administrative "hats," and better unfastening the hands of the commodity producers.

The company must be the basic organizational form, within whose framework the socialist commodity producers must organize and implement their activity. Such a form of organization can develop in industry, agriculture, and other spheres. In general, we must ensure a great variety in applying the company organization.

Companies can be formed on the basis of all forms of socialist property and therefore state organs, public organizations, banks, economic organizations, cooperatives, individual citizens, and so forth, must be their initiators.

Independent small and medium-size enterprises, cooperatives, consultant bureaus, agricultural farms, and so forth can be established and function along with the companies.

The principles of self-management must be applied at the establishment of companies; however, along with this it is only natural to develop further and enrich some of these principles.

The companies will include self-managing economic units (enterprises, institutes, foreign trade and engineering organizations, and so forth), which will implement strategic tasks posed by the state, as well as other economic activity.

The company must work out and implement a uniform technological, investment, market, and social policy, related to the subject of their activity. All subunits of the company must be subjugated to this policy.

Relations between the company and the state organs will be placed on a fully economic basis. Mutual relations with the budget will be implemented directly by the company, and not by its subunits.

State commissions given to the company cannot engage more than 70 percent of its production-economic capacity.

—The company can develop economic initiatives in the country and in the international market within the framework of its free capacities, and by using all opportunities for their growth.

—The company has all the rights the implement direct technological, investment, and market mutual relations with other companies and economic organizations, and participate in associations in our country and abroad.

—Nobody, including the government, can contract the export of production and its price in the domestic or international market, without the participation of the company.

The company must be managed by a managing council, led by a chairman. The operational management of the company must be implemented by the executive director and his deputies.

The managing council must not interfere with the activity of the executive director in operatively solving the issues. Both the managing council and the director must implement their functions in accordance with the requirements of the law.

The question emerges of what our approach to the process of advancing toward the company organization of the economic activity must be. Will this take place through an act of the Council of Ministers, or will we allow the self-managing organizations to solve this matter alone? It will be correct to use both approaches.

The next step in perfecting the organizational forms in the economy should be to combine the companies into more powerful groupings on the basis of their economic interests and in accordance with the contemporary requirements relating to concentration of production and competition in the international market. These groupings can be called associations or something else, but the essential thing is that their functions and tasks will be radically different from those of the present associations. Their activity will consist of developing and conducting the strategy in a particular field, drafting the principal investment decisions, marketing, managing the innovative processes, conducting policy in relation to products, developing and further improving the basic links between the units, selecting the leading management cadres, and so on.

Such powerful economic groupings will not be set up in all spheres, but only where necessary. There will also be many companies that do not form part of larger formations.

In addition to the company-based and other structures attached to them or existing separately from them, or attached to the municipalities, cooperatives, and so on, it is necessary to continue to build up small and medium-sized enterprises, which will also function in accordance with the principles of company-based organization. With their flexibility and adaptability, these enterprises will assist in overcoming monopolies in the country, saturating the market and meeting the demands of other production facilities in Bulgaria, and opening up new positions on the international market. They will also play a considerable role in introducing innovations in production.

As far as agriculture is concerned, as is well-known, a plenum of the BCP Central Committee is to be held that will also deal with the issues relating to organization in this field.

During the discussion that has taken place, many proposals were made, but in very many of the statements the disputes centered around the question: Which is the basic unit—the brigade or the agro-industrial complex?

—Attention was concentrated on the name, but not on the main thing, namely that the matters at issue concern a new type of organization of agricultural producers.

—The chief thing in these organizations is that many of them may function as companies that will guarantee the production of agricultural goods in the fresh and processed state, developing as goods producers within the country and in the international market.

It is evident that, here too, the structures should develop to the optimum extent on the basis of associations and other companies that are most beneficial to the producers themselves and the consumers.

—Much more can be achieved through the gradual introduction of company-based organization in agriculture.

The companies in agriculture should develop as vital groupings of agricultural producers, based on their interests and conforming to modern requirements.

—Accordingly, they should not be mere repetitions either of the previous agro-industrial complexes, or of the labor cooperative farms that existed in the past, or of those anemic brigades that are incapable of reproducing themselves.

At the same time, small and medium-sized enterprises should be set up on a wide scale in the municipalities and townships, based on modular principles, which will ensure speedy and complete processing of products and their delivery to the consumers in the relevant territory.

—In this context, priority should be given to the regions threatened with depopulation.

This is one aspect of the problem relating to perfecting the organizational structures in the economy.

The second aspect of the problem is connected with the fundamentally new role of the law and the judicial institutions in building up and establishing company-based organization in agriculture.

—Until now the economic enterprises and organizations were created by the Council of Ministers or an organ authorized by it, with due observance of the requirements prescribed by the law.

—These and a number of other bureaucratic obstacles (endless consultations between separate organs and organizations before agreement is reached) are creating exceptional difficulties in relation to achieving the required flexibility on the part of the goods producers and regarding their mutual relations.

—These obstacles must be eliminated, and replaced by a single, fair approach, namely equality and responsibility of everyone before the law.

In the future, the creation or cessation of any form of economic activity should be effected solely through the relevant judicial organ—local or central.

This entails a radical reorganization:

—of the relevant body of law; and

—of the functions and tasks of the existing judicial organs, or the creation of specialized judicial organs with the task of providing a legal framework for, assisting, monitoring, and penalizing the activities of the companies and other organizations in all fields.

This means a new approach toward state and administrative acts, with a view to ensuring that they do not contradict the law.

—If the opposite is the case, they should be annulled by the relevant judicial organ, and the officials who permitted such inconsistencies should be legally prosecuted.

—This should also apply in the case of decisions of the Council of Ministers that are inconsistent with the law.

During the transitional stage, in order to prevent disturbances of economic relations, it will be appropriate to grant, by special decree of the State Council, certain additional powers to the Council of Ministers in this field.

Later on, the relevant judicial organ should guarantee to every goods producer calm and stability as regards the law.

—At the same time, exceptional flexibility must be attained in setting up and shutting down all kinds of economic formations—companies, independent enterprises (especially in the sphere of services), and others, but under one sole condition: full responsibility before the law (both as regards property and personal responsibility).

The next fundamental problem relates to the economic regulators: What kinds of regulators should there be?

—The previous postulate on granting power to the self-managing communities is well-known. This process has already begun, but things must go further.

It is now exceptionally important not only that power should be granted to the self-managing communities, but that this power should be implemented in their economic, political, and social standpoints through the interests of the individual and the labor collectives.

—The basic requirement that the economic regulators must meet is to take into account and regulate the interests and combine them with the responsibilities.

When finally drawing up these regulators, it is correct to take into account all beneficial aspects of our previous experience, and also to use the positive elements in the experience of socialist and capitalist countries.

In all drafting work and activities at all levels, the main thing is to master and follow the fundamental premises concerning socialist property that are embodied in the July Concept.

The fact that socialist property is uniform and indivisible in its multitude of forms is of great and fundamental importance as regards the economic regulators.

We must create the possibility, through the economic regulators, of developing new mechanisms and forms of administration and management for our own conditions.

—The most varied mechanisms must be used for this purpose, including part participation with shares and bonds, as well as other economic forms of association inside and outside the country.

—At the same time, those mechanisms that we have already adopted—piecework organization, the cooperative forms, and handing over property on a leasing basis for administration and management—should be further applied.

However, whatever forms and mechanisms we create, it must be clear that these are forms for competition in the domestic and international markets.

Now no one will be able to continue to live in the old manner—neither the great company-based structures, nor the small and medium-sized enterprises, nor the

scientific organizations. All the self-managing organizations, irrespective of the sphere and subject of their activity, will prove their vitality and efficiency by vying with their own competitors within the country and abroad.

This is the way for us to raise the economy to a new level, obtain increasingly greater benefit from the international division of labor, and reap the fruits of scientific-technical and industrial production-sharing with leading countries and firms in the relevant sectors.

Therefore, the mechanisms that we will introduce into the economy should be used to create conditions based on equal rights, on the basis of which the different forms of administration and management of socialist property will compete, and those among them will survive that work the best, in accordance with the world standards for profitability and productivity.

Of course, at the present stage the state must provide a degree of protection for the small organizations—firms, cooperatives, and so on—against the attempts of large organizations in the country to carry on unfair competition, and also in order to strengthen them so that they can get established in the international market.

However, the state cannot give a full guarantee that these small structures, which will be dozens, hundreds, and even thousands in number, will survive. This will depend on the work of their collectives and leaderships.

As far as certain low-profit or even loss-making types of production and activities that are absolutely necessary for the country's economy and for meeting essential needs in the social sphere are concerned, the state will also assist them under the new conditions.

However, the chief, universally valid feature is competition in everything and everywhere.

The task now is to use the economic regulators to create an environment in which that which is most progressive and efficient manifests itself in conformity with our conditions and aims.

—These regulators will apply to all the forms in which socialist property is managed.

—They will create identical opportunities for the interests of the goods producers to develop, irrespective of whether they are working with state, cooperative, or private property.

—They will be obligatory for all. Whoever violates them must answer to the court and the law.

In this connection, the question of how the economic regulators are to be strictly defined and covered by law must be discussed, and the most appropriate solution found.

—For the time being, it may be appropriate for this to be effected by decree of the State Council, and in the future by a law that applies to all organizations, both in material production and in the other spheres of social life.

This is a matter of simple, clear regulations that define the role, rights, and responsibilities of all participants in the reproduction process, including the socialist state.

In this context, one should draw attention to several points.

First of all, it will be correct if the interrelations between the goods producers and the state in connection with the management and utilization [realizatsiya] of socialist property are arranged by means of a minimum number of taxes.

—A single general tax might apply to everyone, namely a value-added tax instead of a tax on resources.

In addition, the state should regulate wages and prices by means of certain regulations.

—With regard to wages, a guarantee must be provided that wages are regulated according to the level of qualifications.

—Here we cannot depart from the principle we have already adopted: "apprentice—journeyman—master craftsman."

Accordingly, a goods producer who employs more highly qualified labor must provide the level of starting pay defined by the law for the given level of professional qualifications.

—The state should watch and monitor the observance of this principle through its competent organs.

—He who does not guarantee the required starting remuneration will not have the right to employ a worker with the relevant level of qualifications.

—This must be arranged through the labor legislation and the other legal acts, and should apply to both the production and the intellectual spheres.

As far as prices are concerned, the state should regulate them through the market, keeping in mind the realities that now exist in the economy.

This premise applies to:

—prices for basic goods and essential services; and

—prices for certain raw and other materials of strategic importance for the national economy. Control over pricing is the other lever of regulation which observes legally

established principles in connection with concluding free agreements on prices between commodity producers for the majority of basic goods.

—In this respect the rights of respective competent organs and their obligations are expected to be decided upon on a legal basis.

However, the main factor in the regulation of economic processes by the state is its participation in the distribution of profits.

In this respect we should observe the following guidelines:

—As a matter of principle, the state should receive the basic share of profits in order to ensure its functions in connection with the strategic leadership and planned national economic development, and in order to guarantee the satisfaction of nationwide needs and tasks in the economic sector and in other spheres;

—the remaining profits should be distributed among the respective organizations on the basis of given norms: for reproduction and final consumption by the collective—according to everyone's contribution—for the accomplishment of social tasks, and so forth;

—in connection with the distribution of this fund we should also consider the share of the territorial units.

As a result of all this, under the existing conditions, the role of the state is by no means underrated. However, like all other institutions, the state needs restructuring.

Now that we are proceeding toward the establishment of a new economic structure of society, the question of restructuring the existing state hierarchy is exceptionally important.

We do not reject the strategic leadership of the state under the new conditions. This would be a grave mistake. Economy and society cannot exist without the state.

Nevertheless, the state and its organs cannot play the role of an administrative hat. The basic issue is that the state hierarchy is economically incorporated in the core of society and is part of the comprehensive reproduction process, as well as part of the economic restructuring.

The state is present everywhere, especially at the "point of entry" and at the "point of exit" of each self-managing community. This is a new type of state hierarchy whose activities in the economic and other spheres are governed by the law. Not only the Council of Ministers and the other state institutions, but the party as well should be governed by the law. The Supreme Court is authorized to repeal government decisions, as well as decisions

of the BCP Central Committee and other party organs, of social organizations, and of all other institutions in the material and intellectual sphere if such decisions should contradict the law.

This is one element related to economic regulation.

The other, no less important element is the fact that in developing and applying this set of economic instruments we should analyze, experiment with, and in accordance with the conditions existing in our country and with our goals, gradually expand mechanisms of management and administration which have proved effective in other countries.

Developments and research work accomplished in this sector have convinced us of the important role which the shareholder's principle is expected to play.

—This principle, as well as the effectiveness and opportunities resulting from its mechanisms for management and administration on the basis of individual interests, are confirmed by worldwide, practical experience.

Companies and other economic and scientific organizations, as well as the municipalities, should be entitled to issue shares and bonds with a view toward collecting the necessary resources for their development.

The right of individual citizens to purchase a certain amount of shares, and thus, to participate directly in property is of great importance.

—Bulgarian citizens should be authorized to acquire shares from the company in which they work, as well as from other organizations.

In addition to this, the following institutions are entitled to be shareholders:

—the state, municipalities, public organizations, and other commodity producers in our country;

—companies, banks, and private citizens from abroad, while specific regulations on their participation should be issued and determined by the state.

The amount of shares which private citizens in our country are entitled to purchase will be limited to prevent the violation of the basic principles of economic management and distribution.

The other great advantage of the shareholder principle that we should take advantage of is the fact that it permits much greater economic flexibility, that it makes it possible to transfuse financial, material, and other means and resources between socialist commodity producers, and that it allows concentration and specialization of production on a real economic basis.

—The shareholder system creates prerequisites for directing the investments toward the most effective productions and activities.

—It is a matter of great importance that this enables us to establish a much more complete and direct incentive for the socialist workers and their collectives, as well as to replace administrative control by the self-control of the collectives.

We greatly rely on the mechanisms for the establishment of powerful funds with the participation of various units in the production and the intellectual sphere, by attracting the resources of companies, banks, and public organizations, as well as of private citizens and territorial communities of the population for the accomplishment of important tasks in all directions.

These funds and the mechanisms of their application are exceptionally important to us—under all political, economic, and social aspects—so that we may further expand the democratic principle in coping with our tasks.

We do not underestimate the significance of certain charity activities which are very popular in international practice and are operated on the basis of respective funds and foundations.

In this particular case we are talking about the establishment of powerful financial funds on the basis of the business participation of all those involved. We can and should turn these funds into a powerful instrument of the working people's direct participation for the involvement of all citizens in our country in restructuring their everyday life and work; for their inspiration with new values; and for establishing new norms of behavior, a style of work, and a new sense of responsibility.

We are talking about linking together the initiatives and resources of various social communities, about consolidating the efforts of millions in the restructuring process through their involvement in collecting and using these funds on a democratic, economic basis.

As the practical experience of numerous developed countries demonstrates, this mechanism can greatly contribute to the involvement of citizens and their social communities in the following activities:

—in establishing powerful funds for the needs of retirement insurance;

—in collecting new resources for the health insurance and general insurance sectors.

—in the maintenance and functioning of numerous institutions in the intellectual sphere.

The principles of self-management in resource provision and in the activities of higher educational institutions and scientific organizations create qualitatively new conditions for the active participation of such institutions and of their structural units in establishing funds for the following purposes:

- for solving the problems of their own material base;
- for stimulating scientific-research work;
- for expanding their own potential.

The following methods can be applied in this respect:

- association of institutes, faculties, and chairs of various higher educational institutions;
- establishing cooperatives between higher educational institutions and organizations of the material production sector, municipalities, and oblasts, as well as other institutions in the intellectual sphere.

The resources of these funds can come from the following sources:

- the higher educational institutions' own resources resulting from the accomplishment of practical tasks;
- resources from republican and local budgets;
- resources resulting from international scientific cooperation and from the training of foreign students;
- resources obtained on the basis of shareholder participation in other spheres, and so forth.

The state will continue to provide basic resources for the scientific and educational spheres. Nevertheless, the active participation of scientific and educational institutions in collecting and using the aforementioned funds is the main issue being discussed.

This approach will make it possible to completely abolish the present bureaucratic system of budgetary financing, and to do away with the consumer-oriented attitude of leading officials and collectives in the scientific and educational spheres by simultaneously enabling them to cope with their problems.

We should consider that it is impossible for all companies that will reorganize as shareholders to accomplish their restructuring process all at once. In view of this we should create provisional conditions for the reorganization of the presently existing trusts and enterprises.

The state organs should develop a clear strategy for the transition of those economic institutions where the necessary conditions for this exist, from their present form

of organization to the shareholder system of organization. In connection with the introduction of new organizational forms we should point out that, in applying the experience of other countries, we are not mechanically transferring ready-made solutions, and even less, solutions which conform with the specific conditions existing in other states or social systems.

We are talking about forms which summarize historical experience and are the result of modern organization. The forms in question conform with the nature of socialism and of production relations existing at the present stage of our development.

—In applying such forms we will achieve an effective implementation of socialist property and eliminate numerous factors which alienate the people from the production means. This will contribute to increasing incentives for the people and for their economic initiative in connection with developing the productive forces.

—We will subject these forms of organization to the socialist nature of our society. Their application will exclude the opportunity for speculation and enrichment through nonlabor methods and will simultaneously do away with leveling, as well as stimulate the improvement of the living standard on the basis of increasing socialist property.

—As a result of all this, we can say that these forms of organization are absolutely necessary for the restructuring process.

The third problem is the requirement of personalization—meaning that workers should no longer be anonymous, that everyone should be judged according to his accomplished tasks, and according to the quality and quantity of his labor.

This evaluation should be done on the basis of technology, primarily according to technological criteria applied in a given activity, because technology is the chief index for the standards of organization and for the results of work in all places.

This should be asserted as an absolute requirement for cadres, economic managers, and specialists, as well as for millions of working people.

Shortcomings and mistakes should no longer be anonymous—we should know who has allowed a shortcoming to occur, and who has not discovered it on time, whether the shortcomings in question are a result of technological failures, and who has failed in his duties—whether it is the designer, the technologist, the worker, or the manager—and whether the losses are caused by incorrect market policy.

In accordance with these criteria, everyone's work should be personally assessed, stimulated, and sanctioned according to the individual worker's rights and

responsibilities in his particular job, in the brigade, in the workshop, or in the plant until the final consumption stage of the product on domestic and international markets has been reached.

—Every individual working operation should be registered according to its quality. There should be a special assessment—an "index card" showing who has performed the operation and revealing his name to the consumer within the country and abroad.

—Individual labor remuneration should be established in accordance with these criteria on an hourly, daily, or weekly basis, on a 10-days basis, or on a monthly basis.

—In this manner each unit—the brigade, the group, the workshop, and so forth—should be aware of the kind of goods they produce, of the raw material expenditures used, and of production quality—from the design to the marketing of a given production, and until the amortization of the respective equipment.

The experience of the best producers abroad, which has already been introduced in the Mikhaylovgrad Montana plant and which is widely applied in numerous other Bulgarian enterprises, categorically confirms the advantages of this approach.

This approach provides various high-standard opportunities, such as:

—opportunities of eliminating, leveling, and stimulating individual incentives;

—opportunities of ensuring a breakthrough in the growth of quality indexes and production effectiveness;

—opportunities of guaranteeing a strict organization, order, and discipline;

—opportunities of establishing a new economic and social atmosphere, a new moral image of the socialist worker as a manager.

The fourth problem is the requirement to develop respective views on restructuring in the intellectual sphere as a continuation of the decisions adopted at the July 1988 BCP Central Committee Plenum on the basis of which we are proceeding with this restructuring process. This problem should be solved by assessing the necessary uniformity in applying the new principles and approaches, as well as the new economic levers.

It is evident that the presently existing creative unions should be transformed into creative-professional organizations in the future.

For this purpose, everything about their present functions which creates conditions of monopolism within these unions, which distorts their party organizations, and makes it possible to use the funds of the unions for personal benefit should be eliminated.

The functions in connection with the issue and dissemination of given cultural assets should be expediently taken over by other organizations which we could provisionally call houses (similarly to those existing in other spheres).

—For example, PARTIZDAT and the Publishing House of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union (BZNS) could be transformed into publishing houses of political literature.

—Two or three such houses could be established in the literary and arts sphere.

—Similar organizations could take over all problems connected with the preparation of exhibitions, the dissemination of intellectual assets, and so forth.

Restructuring will rescue the creative unions from monopolism.

—For example, all Bulgarian painters who have graduated from an art school should have access to membership in a restructured Bulgarian Painters' Union as long as they wish.

—Membership restrictions, as they exist today, should be eliminated.

—All other creative unions should widely open their doors and become accessible.

This does not mean that especially gifted artists, innovators, and creators of brilliant works of art should be submerged in the crowd.

The opposite is true.

The party highly values and respects the intelligentsia and all its groups. The contribution to the country's intellectual development and innovation by our scientists, engineers, composers, artists, writers, journalists, film workers, teachers, physicians, and all intellectual figures is invaluable.

The measures adopted are aimed at changing the system through which creative art is produced.

—This is so because the currently existing system, including the system existing in the field of arts and culture, is likely to produce distortions, and hence degeneration.

—Our goal is to build up a system serving man's interests, and especially promoting talented people, those who have original thoughts and without whom the intellectual life of society is doomed to stagnation.

We need a system that should not restrict the sphere of creative self-implementation, but promote this self-implementation.

—Such a system would make it possible to duly appreciate the work and personality of a creative artist so that the artist may be remunerated according to his real contribution to society's cultural upsurge.

—In our society, those for whom the artist creates should be duly appreciated. It is well known that art is for the people and that the people are those who evaluate art in the final stage.

—It is a necessity to promote competent and highly professional criticism of art based on principle. This sphere should not be underestimated.

In these circumstances the question of new methods of organizing the creative funds, which now exist in the respective creative unions, is naturally emerging. Its solution should evidently be considered and adapted to the principles of the functioning of self-managing organizations in the intellectual sphere.

Let us take the creative fund of the Writers' Union, for example. At present the fund receives respective contributions for every literary work issued in Bulgaria, regardless of whether it is written by a Bulgarian, or foreign author, whether it has been sold, or recycled.

A similar situation exists in connection with the creative fund of Bulgarian painters. In this case, however, considerable profits are added by activities of enterprises operating under the management of the union.

The trouble is that these organizations have considerable funds. The trouble is also that the mechanism of distributing these funds, as it is organized and functioning at present, creates favorable conditions for increasing monopolism, distortions, and even corruption.

The merging of publishing activities and some other operations which are now subjected to public organizations and creative unions in publishing houses will put an end to this practice.

This is how all publishing institutions will work under the same generally applicable rules and economic mechanisms, which will make them all truly equal before the law.

—Numerous kinds of dependencies upon the respective organizations, which are now exercising a negative influence upon the structure of publishing production and other activities, will be eliminated. —The pressure of the

public-creative organizations and unions for greater profits at all costs, their efforts to obtain more resources for their own support, will be overcome.

—And last, but not least—the most important thing will be achieved, namely to eliminate opportunities of manipulating funds for personal and group interest.

In addition to this, creative artists who are BCP members should become members of the respective party organizations of publishing houses, editorial boards, or other cultural institutions, and even of residential district party organizations, if they wish to do so.

—The BCP Statute is very explicit about this point and the enforcement of this regulation should be restored. There is no longer any requirement to establish party organizations in creative unions.

—This does not imply that Communists should be indifferent toward the work of creative unions, that they cannot exert their influence as union members, even by convening meetings of the party activists, in case of necessity.

We should once more stress the stand of our BCP Central Committee in this respect:

No one has ever intended to touch upon the creative unions. Only people who are trying to manipulate our artistic and creative intelligentsia can say such things.

—It is our aspiration to promote creative artists. Many of them are highly paid. This is justified if we consider the specific and social value of their work.

The question is how their work should be evaluated.

There is one more question pertaining to the training of leading cadres in self-managing organizations of the material and intellectual sphere.

—Even older comrades who are already retired can be accepted as members of the managing boards of companies and other economic organizations, and even people who work in other spheres, can be recruited as long as their party stands are correct.

—With their professional and life experience they are likely to represent an active, creative force in the comprehensive development of self-managing organizations, and simultaneously they have the personal satisfaction of contributing to society.

Similar conditions could be introduced in the intellectual sphere.

—Thus, for example, two leading organs of higher educational institutions, publishing houses, and others may recruit distinguished figures of science and culture. They can be useful with their experience and knowledge in discussing problems, developing strategies, and so forth.

—The operational solution of problems in higher educational institutions, for example, should be the right and prerogative of the rector and of his direct assistants. No one should interfere in their work, as long as it conforms with the law.

Comrades, in adopting the 1989 plan we should accomplish a firm, new step forward in implementing our strategy and the economic and social programs connected with it. From this stand we should evaluate the draft plan that has been submitted to discussion.

The Politburo thinks that in discussing the draft submitted for the 1989 State Plan, it is particularly important to focus our attention on two important factors:

—on how to implement the strategy of fundamental technological-structural renewal for providing a better economic balance.

—on the question of the social orientation of our economic development, and on the opportunity of promoting an active social policy.

We can definitely say that the efforts to find the solution for the aforementioned two questions are the basic elements in the work connected with the preparation of the draft state plan.

As far as the first point is concerned, one should point out that the extent of the success of the policy carried out through the plan will depend on:

—how effective our cooperation is with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; and on

—how progressive and mutually beneficial the forms of cooperation are with the nonsocialist countries and their leading companies.

In this respect, a radical change must be effected in both the philosophy and psychology in the economic sphere, and in all social activities.

—Every type of production must develop in such a way as to find a foreign market at an acceptable price. The second point concerns the domestic market.

We are aware that at present this is perhaps the most important problem. The morale of the people, their ambitions relating to effective self-fulfillment in labor, and their attitude toward restructuring itself, all depend to a large degree on the state of the market.

The questions in this field were the subject of special attention this year in the Politburo, within the government, and at a number of conferences in which the oblast party and state organizations and leaders of the leading economic units took part.

In accordance with the requirements that have been set, the government adopted a number of decisions that are already being implemented, and a considerable portion of the tasks are reflected in the draft plan we are considering.

All this could produce more tangible and speedy results if our agriculture had once again not faced serious weather problems, which required the diversion of a number of resources to cover pressing needs for imports, including resources in convertible currency.

The mass media often talk about the lack of one type of commodity or another in the market. At the same time, it is not explained that there are over 100,000 ranges of goods at present throughout the world, that in the socialist community we have not yet created such a market, and great foreign currency resources are needed in order to reach the level of the Western market.

It is clear that little Bulgaria alone, through its own efforts, cannot ensure such a great variety of goods. However, we must mobilize ourselves in order to achieve both what lies within our internal possibilities and what we can obtain in cooperation with the other countries.

This is the very reason why new, large-scale maneuvers are now being sought and undertaken.

—Major changes are under way in the field of investments.

—The plan for this year also provides for a substantial cut in exports, which applies most of all to goods and services that are in short supply in the market.

—There will be increased possibilities for importing relevant goods through exchange operations, along the line of new forms of cooperation.

Yes, the plan and the measures in support of it in all these directions are correctly defined. The Politburo is confident that this key issue will be resolved in the near future.

The basic, main point is, in the course of the practical implementation, to open up new reserves and possibilities in order to overcome the lagging that has become apparent in the growth of the commodity fund vis-a-vis demand from those able to pay, and to achieve a better relationship in this aspect than that envisaged in the draft plan.

There must be no restriction to initiatives in this field, provided such initiatives are in accordance with the law and they provide larger quantities of better-quality goods and services to the Bulgarian consumer.

The results in the market form the yardstick by which, in the last analysis, we should evaluate what is achieved in structural and technological restructuring, in international economic cooperation, and in the development of our economic specialization.

The basic criterion for the activity of all cadres—economic, party, and state figures, and all the self-management organs, should be their real contribution to the development of the market.

Possibilities exist, decisions exist, we have cadres and specialists available. The main thing is to impart an impetus to the practical implementation, so that the positive changes are tangibly reflected on the Bulgarian's dinner table within the very near future.

A clear premise is necessary

—If more continuous efforts and greater means are needed solve numerous cardinal issues of technological renewal, the changes on the dinner table of the Bulgarian citizen can and must take place in the near future.

This depends to the greatest degree on our willingness and skills to organize ourselves, activate all resources, and implement prudent steps.

III. On Some Problems of Democratization and Reforming the Legal Superstructure

Comrades, while reviewing economic issues we understand that none of those issues can be solved without asserting democracy in life and restructuring the legal superstructure.

As has already been pointed out, further strengthening the economic reform imposes serious changes in legislature and in the role of the judicial organs. These changes, affecting the basis, inevitably require us to conduct the restructuring of the legal superstructure in all spheres of life and in our entire social system. This is so because it is the restructuring of the legal superstructure that sets the tone of all social transformations.

—Hence, asserting democracy in life and changing the legal superstructure are the deep essential aspects of renewal, which we are implementing.

What is the main problem of democratization at the present stage?

—The task is to turn the people not just into agents of management, but into agents of government, agents who possess power and exercise it.

Our most important starting point was the democratization of life through establishing self-governing communities in material and intellectual life, based on the territorial principle.

—On this basis we will expand the democratization of the information processes in society.

We have no reason to deviate from the road we have chosen, because specific results have been achieved while following it.

—Greater space has been provided for the social creativity and activity of the self-governing communities and man.

—Better conditions have been created for preventing bureaucratic abuse of power and its "misappropriation."

—Practical measures for protecting the citizens' rights, freedoms, and authority are being implemented.

These are the first steps, which will gradually change the social awareness and our society's climate and atmosphere.

This is understandable. The deep reform implemented through the establishment of the self-managing communities, aims at the following principal goals:

—Leading man toward new economic, political, social, and intellectual positions;

—Giving great rights to the people, wherever they live and work, and simultaneously, giving them responsibilities, which will form the consciousness of real managers.

This is the first direction of further developing and enriching socialist democracy in our country.

The second direction—this is the implementation of socialist pluralism in the opinions and interests of the people in the country, as well as ensuring broad glasnost concerning the issues of our development.

—Socialist pluralism expresses the diversity of the working people's interests. In the final account, these interests are the interests of society.

—This means that the economic, legal, moral, and other characteristics of our society determine the dimensions of socialist pluralism.

—The more complete these characteristics are, the more real and effective this pluralism will be for our society.

Naturally, the democratization of society and its road toward renewing socialism are impossible without glasnost, without publishing information, without being informed.

—By this I mean the information culture with its material-technical, professional-creative, and moral characteristics. In this context it is again necessary to stress that:

—Now conditions are being created in our country, which allow us to strengthen the process of developing socialist pluralism and glasnost;

—We must be further led by the premise that the pluralism of opinions and glasnost cannot form false notions and illusions about the possibilities of socialism.

This must be understood against the background of the considerations of the new historical contents, which we are yet to create, and which actually is the main task of restructuring.

The following factors must be considered when resolving these issues:

—The economic potential of society, on the basis of which democratic social relations can develop;

—The technological culture of society; the inherited and acquired habits and skills related to demonstrating high professionalism in everything and everywhere;

—The degree of society's education, which also determines the possible adaptiveness to the changes in the contemporary world;

—Our culture, as the culture of citizens of the 20th century, who live in the epoch of the scientific-technical revolution.

Consequently, economic prosperity is needed by society.

In the second place, we must release the social forces, that are the carriers of democracy, and for whom democracy is vitally important.

In the third place, new social consciousness and political culture on the part of society are needed.

By stressing the conditions, that are needed for further asserting democracy, we simultaneously note that democracy is an essential factor in developing society. Without it it is impossible to achieve progress in any area. Therefore, simultaneously with creating preconditions of asserting democracy in life, we shall make efforts to comprehensively enrich democracy.

Developing the process of democratization we must defend our place in the contemporary world.

—Democratization is a part of the world's new historical make-up.

—Democratization must develop in our country in accordance with this content and with the achievements and conditions of contemporary civilization.

—This means that society as a whole, the entire nation, must restructure for living in the conditions of this make-up.

—Thus we shall understand our place in the world, change this place, and assert ourselves as a civilized and cultured country.

As you can see from the measures, which have already been adopted, and from what I am saying here, we are determined to restructure the political system in total accordance with the principles of self-management and socialist democracy.

—The restructuring of our higher echelon will end soon.

However, if this cause is to succeed, it, as already pointed out, must rely on and progress simultaneously with the comprehensive restructuring of the legal superstructure.

The two declarations, adopted by the National Assembly—on placing socialist property under the management and administration of the labor collectives, and on turning the municipalities into self-managing communities of the population—only marked a positive beginning.

—These two declarations represent so to say a "small constitution" of restructuring, on whose basis we must erect a new legal superstructure.

—Provisional rules on the rights and responsibilities of the new territorial structures have been adopted.

However, all this must be enriched, developed further, and expanded throughout the entire renewed system of laws.

This system of laws must guarantee the following:

—provide maximum scope and self-fulfillment for the self-governing communities and a comprehensive development of their energy and initiative;

—safeguard the democratic character and coordination of the interests of the social groups and territorial and professional-creative communities in the various spheres of society;

—eliminate the bureaucratic abuse of power and the practice of seizing power from the social communities and their members;

—respect and observe the rights, freedoms, and authority of the citizens vis-a-vis the state and its organs.

This is the supporting structure of the civil society, that we proclaimed. It must also receive its solid legal foundation.

—Life shows that the activity of the objective natural laws and the application of the principles springing from them, depend on the manner in which the government and its institutions are functioning.

—Restructuring and self-management, and the construction of civil society cannot take place outside the law or above it.

Guaranteeing new rights and responsibilities to the self-managing organizations with the view toward developing them as vital social communities, must be the main factor in renewing the laws.

The following issues must be settled on this basis and according to the territorial principle:

—the communities' property;

—mutual relations of the communities with the economic organizations and cooperatives;

—production use of the citizens' personal property, and so forth.

In other words, the law must **guarantee the power** of the territorial communities, as well as their rights and possibilities to resolve all economic and social problems on their territory. Furthermore, the law must guarantee their right, within the framework of the norms adopted by the supreme legislative organ, to **adopt an order and norms on their territory**, in accordance with the will of their population.

—In this context we must apply the decisions which have been adopted on conducting a **national referendum** on the various issues.

It is also necessary to **increase the role of the oblast leaderships**. They must act as territorial governments of sorts.

For this purpose it is necessary:

—to give new functions and higher rights and obligations to the oblast people's councils and their executive committees, and apply the principle of their self-financing;

—to implement this by obtaining the appropriate power from the central state organs, and not by limiting or usurping the rights of the municipalities.

All this will strengthen the people's councils as organs of self-management and will turn them into the support of every citizen as an agent of government.

The restructuring of the legislation must assert new dimensions of government.

We must regulate the status and functions of the new state organs by amending the Constitution. Furthermore, we must effect the ensuing changes in the system of the activities and prerogatives of the representative organs of state power and in the mutual relations between the organs of state management and the self-managing communities.

A comprehensive reassessment of the election system regulation is necessary with the view toward providing the self-managing economic and territorial communities with broad rights in applying this system.

Legislation also needs essential changes in everything related to regulating the activity of the **judicial and other legal defense organs**, so that they can apply efficient control over observing socialist law, and defending the rights of the citizens and the socialist organizations.

In short, everything which we will effect in the legal superstructure—from restructuring the law on property to the labor, administrative, civil, and penal legislation, through the application of the tripartite principle of power, self-management, and civil society—will be done in order to bring man to new heights.

IV. On the Public Organizations and Movements

Comrades, there are more than 100 public organizations, movements, and other groups in our country. The task of restructuring this sphere has been on the agenda since the 13th BCP Congress.

—The congresses of the Fatherland Front, Trade Unions, Komsomol, and other organizations, which took place, gave a certain impetus to solving the task of restructuring the sphere of the public organizations.

—This task has been reassessed in a new manner on the basis of the July Concept, and thus it obtained a certain development.

—The positive factor is that the necessity of incorporating these organizations and movements in the system of self-management has been understood better.

The general conclusion is that regardless of the measures that have been adopted and the changes that have been effected, the task of restructuring the public organizations and movements remains, as a whole, an acute and pressing task.

Things have not essentially moved forward from a practical point of view. No change or almost no change can be felt in the self-managing communities.

—New elements are evident, however, they affect only the payroll, and partly, the structure of the leading organs.

The lessons we draw from the hitherto progress of restructuring, the experience, which has accumulated, and the necessity to advance toward a broad attack, require us to return to the issue of the public organizations and movements, with the view toward fundamentally changing them.

—In particular, this springs from the contents and spirit of the problems, which will be posed and discussed at the present BCP Central Committee plenum.

From what fundamental position must we start in order to ensure the further restructuring of the public organizations?

—From the position that the self-managing communities are the units, to which power is given, and that they will have new rights and obligations in solving the basic tasks in their economic, social, and intellectual aspects.

It is clear that this premise (from which we cannot retreat), requires us to reassess many of the hitherto functions of the public organizations and movements. We must simply relinquish the practice, according to which some of the public organizations and movements are exercising the functions of the self-managing communities and their organs of self-management.

—In this respect, certain normative acts are preventing us from relinquishing this practice. This must be corrected.

—However, the stereotypes, which have been created over the decades, represent the main obstacle in this area.

What I am saying does not mean that the role and importance of the public organizations and movements will decrease under the new conditions. They will continue to be important units of civil society's political system, in which the self-initiative of the people will be a leading factor.

—Their structures must be an integral part of the mechanism of the self-managing communities' functioning.

Ceasing to carry out functions, which fall under the competence of the leaderships of the self-managing communities, they must act as partners and opponents of these communities.

—Partners in the sense of being a broad public support in clarifying and conducting the policy of the appropriate community, as well as clarifying and conducting the general party and state policy.

—Opponents in the sense that they must participate in discussing and resolving the issues, and that their opinion must be considered.

It must be considered that the self-managing organizations have not yet become full-fledged social communities.

—They cannot immediately assume all the inherent functions, which are still being implemented (fully or partly) by certain public organizations.

—However, even now, under the conditions of this transitional period, asserting the new principle in the activity of the self-managing organizations must be the main direction of work.

On this basis we must implement additional changes in the organizational structures and leading organs of many public organizations and movements.

It is expedient to organize the development of trends of further restructuring the public organizations and movements in the leading executive organs of these organizations and movements, immediately after the BCP Central Committee plenum.

Considering the special role and importance of such organizations as the Fatherland Front, Komsomol, and trade unions, the Politburo considers it necessary to present certain more specific considerations, related to these organizations.

About the Fatherland Front

1. The restructuring of the Fatherland Front must be implemented from the position that this sociopolitical organization has an unmovable place and importance in our social system.

—Furthermore, the role of the Fatherland Front will increase in a certain sense.

—This will be a logical process, because we will construct a strong and vital civil society.

—On the other hand we cannot imagine the full-fledged construction and functioning of the territorial self-managing communities without the Fatherland Front.

2. Our premise is well known: The Fatherland Front must further progress from being an organization to being a movement and from being a movement to being an organization.

What is the basic reason for restructuring the Fatherland Front?

This is the necessity of forming an optimal structure and mechanism of sociopolitical, everyday life, and cultural activity and initiative on the part of the people.

This means the construction of diverse forms, whose task will be:

—to fully defend, enrich, and develop the political values and ideals of socialism;

—to massively attract the people to resolve the various social problems;

—to implement a self-organization, which will lead to better satisfying the **cultural needs** of the people, and so forth.

The country must be simply saturated with autonomous associations which will:

—conduct sociopolitical and educational activities;

—participate in resolving socioeconomic tasks;

—express the charity of our people, their care for the sick, socially weak, and lonely people, and mothers of large families, as well as develop activity in the area of temperance;

—develop amateur artistic creativity, which has rich traditions in our country;

—facilitate the social life of pensioners in various clubs, and so forth.

3. The municipalities and townships are the natural territory of expressing the civil independent activity of our society.

—Many associations, meant here, will be an expression of the **civil consciousness of the nation**, and their traditional goal will be to resolve problems which are common to the entire nation.

—However, their real activity will develop in the municipalities and townships.

—The richer the municipalities and townships are in such associations, the better they will develop as social communities.

It is necessary to categorically stress:

—these associations are the **public support** of the organs of the self-managing communities. In addition, they are the necessary **"second nature" of self-management**;

—any attempt to impose an administrative "hat" on these associations, must be eliminated at the very beginning.

The Dimitrov Komsomol, Trade Unions, and scientific-technical and creative unions also have a place in such a system.

The same applies to the organizations of the BCP and BZNS.

—All social forces will line up behind **one platform**, whose task it is to form our civil society and facilitate its functioning and general ascent.

4. In this situation the Fatherland Front can and must assert itself as a real **people's movement** with the participation of all political, everyday life, and cultural organizations and associations.

—It will unite of factors of our civil society on a social basis.

—It will unite all associations, connected with the care for man's social, intellectual, and physical development.

Why is this merger necessary?

—Because in real life we cannot effect an artificial division of the issues which fall under the competence of one or another organization, movement, and club.

—Because we cannot achieve a real effect only with the efforts of one or another organization or association.

All this presupposes a radical transformation of the Fatherland Front.

—In this case it would be correct to return to the initial essence of the Fatherland Front, when it was a broad people's and national movement.

—Now it must relinquish the **redundant elements of an organization**.

—**Fatherland Front Committees** must be established within the framework of the municipalities. All public organizations and amateur associations and clubs, including the BCP and BZNS organizations, must be represented by these committees.

—These committees will not wear an "organizational hat" of sorts, but will be a place where **cooperation and accord** are taking place, as well as **coordination** of the activities of the self-managing communities' relevant organs. **The National Council of the Fatherland Front must be constructed along the same lines.**

Obviously, its activities in studying the real problems of the municipalities and townships, connected with developing people's independent activity, and in assisting the activity of the municipal committees, must be further strengthened.

—Within the subject matter of its activity the National Council must coordinate the efforts of all public organizations and movements at the national level, including the BCP and the BZNS.

To be able to implement this change we must further perfect the organizational structure.

—The Fatherland Front will fulfill its mission not by increasing its payroll, but with the attractive power of the idea of **civil independence, civil initiative and civil responsibility**.

About the Youth Organization

1. At the present stage it is especially important to work out the party's political line on work with youth.

—On the one hand, this line must consider the party's real success in working with youth. We have no political problems with our youth.

—On the other hand, we must not have any illusions that we are immune from the appearance of certain difficulties, even if they do not pose political problems.

2. The party policy toward youth now and in the future must be coordinated with the assessment of the development in the country and throughout the world.

—The main point in this case is that the objective realities change and will change youth from the viewpoints of the values they will adopt, its sociohistorical activity, and the forms and expression of this activity.

—It is obvious that the previous manners of organizing youth as a specific stratum of our society, contradict and will contradict even more the new requirements.

While assessing the Dimitrov Komsomol we must not ignore its merit in facilitating the ideological-political rallying of Bulgarian youth around party policy.

However, we must admit that the Dimitrov Komsomol is a structure, which is a vitally integral part of many previous structures of society, which need restructuring.

3. Manifestations of alienation from the youth organization are evident among our youth.

—The Dimitrov Komsomol, as an organization, has developed mechanisms for implementing various instructions, however, it does not show enough social initiative.

—While very often these instructions are from the administrative organs, the school figure views the Komsomol organization as a classroom; the economic leader views it as an economic unit; and the party organ views it as its own organ for work with youth.

—Because of this dependence, nobody can imagine his children outside the Dimitrov Komsomol, because this means that they will not be recognized as full-fledged citizens.

4. The July Concept and the subsequent party documents allow us to put things in their proper place.

—It is necessary to regulate the obligations of the state toward youth on a new basis.

—On the other hand, it also is necessary to place mutual relations between the party and youth on a new basis, by using our valuable traditions.

—In the final account, it is necessary to effect a fundamental separation between society's activity in the sphere of socializing man, and the public initiative of youth itself, and its own life as an integral part of society.

—Society must not fully transfer its obligations vis-a-vis youth, most of all its obligation to educate the youth organization. In this sphere the role of the family, territorial and production communities, and the state is irreplaceable.

5. Every state has its own policy toward youth, which is expressed in the specific actions of the legislator, and the judicial and executive authorities.

—Obviously, it is necessary to review our legislation in everything related to the needs of youth, and correct it in an appropriate manner.

—It is also obvious that the government and the oblast and municipal leaderships must develop their own activity with youth and report this activity according to the norms of controlling their social activity, which have been adopted.

—It is necessary that the educational organs, economic organizations, Army, and so forth, work with youth on the basis of the law, and that they refrain from treating youth as if their only role was to issue instructions.

—The judicial organs, the organs of public order, and so forth, must also implement their obligations toward youth, according to their functions.

In short, the youth organization must be released from state functions. This does not mean that it will be indifferent to the administration and functions of the state and society. It must be represented in the organs of the people's self-management.

6. The issue of the mutual relations between the youth organization and the BCP will remain a crucial one.

This issue has two sides: the youth organization's relation to the party and the party's relation to the youth organization.

—By this I mean how the party will work with youth in the future.

—I also mean the manner in which the youth organization will assert its public identity, preserving the tested principles of mutual relations with the party.

—In any event, our youth will develop under direct party care, will grow, and assert itself as heirs of the party cause.

Simultaneously, we must not allow cases, in which party organs turn the youth organization into a party subunit of sorts.

—As already stressed in the past, it is necessary to relinquish the practice whereby the youth organs and organizations copy the methods and forms of party work.

—It is correct to eliminate the personification of the youth organization with the name of one of the party leaders. (Georgi Dimitrov).

In conclusion: the responsibility of the party organs and organizations does not decrease under the new conditions. The care for youth was and remains a supreme virtue on the scale of our values.

7. Youth must be organized, or rather it must organize itself by taking into consideration:

—the dynamics of age from the period of elementary school up until the 30th year of human life;

—the differences in the area of youth's work (labor youth, scientific-technical youth, students, and so forth);

—the diversity of interests, which will grow in the future.

8. The ideological, moral, and other principles of socialism, Marxist-Leninist theory, and the July Concept must be the platform on which the self-management of youth takes place.

—On this basis, the youth organization turns into the organization of all youth.

9. This means that youth can naturally organize itself in the following forms:

—children-adolescent communities;

—youth communities, according to the character of their work (workers, agrarians, scientific-technical intelligentsia, students, pupils, and so forth,) as well as according to the interests of the young people.

10. It is purposeful from now on to call the organization of our youth Bulgarian Communist Youth Union (BKMS).

—BKMS must be the heir of everything valuable and positive in the hitherto forms of organizing the youth, and simultaneously, raise youth activity to a qualitatively new level.

—It is called upon to be a basic factor in developing youth participation in our civil society's life, implement the scientific-technical revolution, and further increase the political, cultural, and moral consciousness of the young generations.

The leadership of the BKMS and its organizations must be installed by a central council and by municipal councils.

—It must have a small payroll.

Constructing itself as a general body on the territorial principle, the BKMS unites communities formed on the basis of age, profession, and interests.

First—the association [druzhestvoto] is the basic organizational form of the BKMS.

—This is a structure, through which the union will implement its organizational-political and educational functions.

—Through the associations the BKMS will mobilize the youth for participation in social life.

—The associations will be constructed in accordance with its members' belonging to the basic spheres of social activity—students, workers, and so forth.

Second—other youth organizations, such as the "Banner of Peace" Movement, can be associated with the BKMS.

Third—the BKMS must make efforts to create and activate permanent or subject-matter interests' clubs, in which both its members and youth outside the union can participate.

—These clubs must register with the municipality.

Thus the BKMS will create unity in the diversity of youth initiatives and activities.

—From this point of view the BKMS is not a federation. The common principles of developing the Bulgarian youth movement are the main factors.

11. The municipal youth organization is the basic territorial structure of the BKMS.

—It is the organization of all youth on its territory, and of the municipality, and has its representation in the municipal organs of self-management.

12. The issue of BKMS membership could be better resolved if such a structure is established.

—In any event, membership must not be obligatory.

—In certain youth groups it will practically encompass all young citizens—students, pupils, and so forth.

The system of nominating leading cadres in the youth union must categorically change.

—It is necessary that they are elected at all levels by the youth and be responsible to the youth.

Consequently, we must effect essential changes in the contents and form of the youth movement's activity in our country. I mean changes, which by themselves are meaningless, unless one does not consider the following factors:

—the youth union, and the youth's forms of organization now enter a new situation, they turn into an organic part of the self-managing communities;

—this leads to establishing the fundamentally new role of the youth organization as a partner and opponent to these communities;

—this also leads to establishing the youth organization's new tasks and responsibilities.

These are the new and main factors.

On the basis of the new model of the BKMS organization and activity, we are creating wonderful conditions of its flexible and efficient activity, by participating in the establishment and utilization of financial funds, and coordinating its goals as a social organization with the interests and aspirations of various youth strata.

Thus the youth union can more rationally utilize its available means and attract new resources for its activity. The following may be used in establishing the funds:

—economic association of the youth organization with other public organizations and with commodity producers;

—the Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity (the means obtained from contracts on youth developments and innovations);

—revenues obtained through the youth brigades movement;

—deductions from the funds of the economic organizations and other units engaged in the orbit of the Komsomol organization.

By managing the resources and the allocation of these funds, the BKMS can more actively support various youth interests' clubs and direct their creativity and development toward specific goals.

—This can be implemented by allocating means from the relevant funds on the basis of the principle of competition.

—In this area the mechanism of giving significant commissions to the interests' clubs also must be utilized.

—The practice will also show other purposeful solutions.

The important thing now is to use the mechanism of the funds to respond promptly to the needs, to create an atmosphere and situation of high social engagement on

the part of every young person, and to give new values and aspirations in the young generation, in accordance with our principles and ideals.

About the Trade Unions

Two fundamental issues emerge at the present stage:

The first issue is the so-called protective function of the trade unions.

Objectively, this function acquires importance, because now we are implementing a transition to self-management in all spheres on the basis of the interests of the social communities. If interests in the basis are aroused and their diversity emerges, differences related to implementing the various interests must appear; and certain contradictions, tensions, and separate conflicts cannot be excluded.

New and complex problems emerge in this context. They are related to:

—forming and distributing the enterprises' revenues;

—advancing toward a new wages system;

—the nature of employment and labor conditions in the area of social needs, and so forth.

However, this is only one side of the issue.

The other side is that in advancing toward self-management, the basic economic, social, and intellectual functions are being assumed by the self-managing communities and their organs.

In this case, the trade unions must not impinge on the power of the social communities and block the activity of the elected economic leaders. It is obvious that the very understanding of the protective function of the trade unions and the manner (mechanism) of its implementation must change under these conditions.

Since the director and his deputies are elected by the company's managing council, and their rights and responsibilities are regulated by the law, the trade unions cannot assume the role of the organizers of self-management and interfere with the director's work.

—The law strictly draws the perimeter of the protective functions in the areas of labor and labor relations, social security, and the standard of living.

—Trade union protection does not mean an absolute, guaranteed, and legal protection of everyone—the good workers, the unconscientious ones, and those who violate labor and technological discipline.

The trade union control remains a steady requirement in observing socialist legislation, when it has envisaged special protection of certain specific categories of working people (disabled people, pregnant women and mothers, youth, and so forth.)

Along with this, the new socialist legislation must guarantee the collective the opportunity to resolve the issue of its membership, as long as it is guided by economic considerations, such as piece work, introducing new equipment and technologies, and so forth. Therefore it is necessary to review the existing legal order.

—The trade unions' interference in guaranteeing the employment of workers and specialists who have lost their place of work, must begin the moment that the relevant labor collective expresses its opinion.

The second issue related to the changes in the trade unions, which spring from restructuring the economic basis, and more precisely, the system of maintaining and managing socialist property.

—When the state form of property was dominant, the trade unions in the various branches were constructed in a single manner.

—Even the agricultural trade unions have been "restructured" along the lines of those in the industrial and intellectual spheres.

The following problem emerges now, when we advance toward implementing the premise of diversifying the forms of maintaining and managing socialist property: Will the trade unions in the various forms of property will be uniform, and will the trade union structures act in a uniform manner?

Those are complicated issues. In the present stage we do not have the necessary experience to resolve them, and we cannot borrow this experience elsewhere. It would be correct not to hurry in forming a comprehensive picture of this. The main factor is to search for specific solutions in the trade unions' organization and activities, which are to comply with the self-management model we have adopted. Also in this area there are many function which now are being implemented at the national level, and which must be transferred to the social communities and to the people, wherever they live and work.

The main conclusion is that under the new conditions, the trade unions are not organs which supervise the activities of the self-managing organizations, nor instructors in the self-management in the enterprises.

Simultaneously, they must implement a complex and responsible role as social support and opponent of the organs of self-management and protect the self-managing communities from encroachment on their independence and rights.

V. On the Style of Work and Way of Life Under Conditions of Restructuring I

Comrades, as you see, we must put into effect a whole system of measures. However, if these measures are not further implemented from the position of the leading factors, we shall predominantly achieve partial results, and not a turning point in the socioeconomic growth.

—We do not have much time. History does not grant postponements.

Our visions and premises are aimed precisely at this goal—to implement a breakthrough in certain areas, according the country's potentials, and by relying on everything that we have created.

—Our criteria are subordinate to this goal. It is from this position that we must assess the developments and projects, which are being prepared for implementation in the country during the next year, through the end of the current 5-year plan period, and by the year 2000.

—In this context our plenum has broader importance in relation to the further construction of socialism in our country, and to the theory and practice of restructuring.

The party has the necessary visions and practical approaches needed for making a decisive step forward.

—There are economic grounds for making this step, and it is of great social and ideological importance.

—It is expected and desired by our workers class, the agrarians, intelligentsia, and all people.

—Its implementation will create a new atmosphere, which will increase the people's energy, attract the broad strata, and evoke a spirit of upsurge.

However, neither the decisions that we shall adopt, nor our desire to effect changes can change the things by themselves. This is well known. If we want to enter real life, the essence of our being, something which is very necessary now, we must pass through the fire of strenuous practical work.

Therefore, there is another issue of special importance, which has a great significance in the context of the problems we are discussing, and from the viewpoint of the further construction of socialism in our country.

I mean the fact that the implementation of the July Concept requires a new style of work and a new way of life in our society.

Struggling not to be left behind in time, we must also struggle against every lagging behind, and against all deformations in the style of work and way of life, in our ideological and moral attitude toward labor and life, and in our personal and social behavior.

—We can be proud of many things in this area.

—However, there are many things to think about and which are even causes for alarm.

We, contemporary Bulgarians, are the heirs of traditions, which represent our invaluable capital.

—We are the heirs of a rich moral culture.

Socialism has also contributed to this culture.

—The participants in the revolutionary movement were people who imposed high moral demands on themselves and on the others.

—It was with these moral demands that we began the construction of the new society.

—Regardless of its mistakes and weaknesses, socialism in our country and in other countries is a moral cause.

Why are we coming back to all this? The reason is that this question concerns our ideological values, the ethical values of man and society, values that determine our style of work and way of life.

Recently RABOTNICHESKO DELO published an editorial entitled "Citizens' Peace, Property and Honor Are Inviolable."

—A fine title.

—However, the content is alarming.

—We cannot but be alarmed by the increasingly frequent encroachments on man's property, honor, and liberty.

—We cannot but be alarmed by the state of educational work and discipline in our schools, and so forth.

What is needed is to establish a new style of work.

—From the domestic aspect, this should be a style that stems from the aims and results of restructuring.

—From the international aspect, this should be a style that aids our successful economic, technological, political, and cultural adaptation to the new historical content of the world.

All this places man in a new situation as a worker, creator, and consumer.

However, this man does not in any way represent an average value.

—This man stands in the highest echelon of power, in all the units of management—from the general secretary and chairman of the State Council down to the primary party organization and the mayor of the smallest village.

—He is to be found everywhere—in production, in services, in education and culture, and so on.

The great requirements made of the cadres also stem from this.

First of all, one should mention the requirement relating to high professionalism or, more precisely, up-to-date professionalism in work.

—We have quite considerable experience in the professional preparation of the leading cadres; we have a considerable number of people in the political and management structures who possess splendid professional qualities.

—However, today high professionalism also means, along with everything else, the ability to apply in practice the party's July Concept.

In connection with the cadres, a few more questions should be posed.

An alarming contradiction is emerging between the nature of restructuring as an aim of the party and the style and methods of work that the party, state, and public organs and organizations are employing.

There also exists a second contradiction.

—The revolutionary essence of the July Concept, as well as everything that we have undertaken since the July plenum, is creating in the people a positive disposition toward restructuring, is awakening expectations of changes, and is making the party and state leadership face demands in relation to restructuring.

—However, the content of our style and methods of work does not go far enough to meet this process.

The style and methods of work have always had meaning as a method of implementing one set of plans or another.

—Today, it is more than ever before necessary that every one of our acts, our entire activity, should be exceptionally high in practical value.

—Deeds and deeds alone—this is what must now characterize the work and daily activities of all units, of all workers, and of society as a whole.

—Today Lenin's warning holds good for us more than ever: "The masses will understand and value only businesslike, practical work, practical success in economic and cultural life."

There is also a further question.

The questions that have been asked recently by many honest citizens and many ordinary people, on radio and television, and in the newspapers, can be summarized as this:

—Is it not high time that the principles proclaimed by us regarding order, discipline, active and useful deeds in the name of the great goal, security, and calm become a primary obligation for every citizen, for every Communist?

—This question can be supplemented by the following: Are our party, our state, and our nation in a position to combat everything that is alien to the Bulgarian, in order to activate him and direct him toward real participation in building his own future?

There is only one, categorical answer to this question:

Yes, we are in a position to do so!

We must do so!

This means that, first and foremost, we need discipline everywhere and in everything.

—Democracy and self-management do not mean lack of discipline, but quite the reverse; without high individual and public discipline, neither democracy nor self-management are possible.

This means that personal responsibility is required everywhere and in everything.

—Individual interests can exist and be satisfied only under conditions of a high sense of personal responsibility.

—Without personal responsibility, democracy and self-management cannot exist.

This means that our socialist laws must be observed by everyone everywhere.

—Democracy does not mean lawlessness; quite the opposite, it demands greater responsibility toward the law.

—Glasnost and criticism do not mean infringing on the rights of the people and the organizations, but quite the opposite; they demand respect for them and responsibility for the standpoint that one adopts.

—Those who use the media or other platforms to besmirch the truth, should not forget that they too are responsible before the law, and do not stand above the people and the party.

All the above leads us to the conclusion that it is necessary to launch a broad attack over the entire front of restructuring:

—an attack in all spheres of society—the economy, the political superstructure, social policy, and intellectual life;

—an attack launched through all the agents of restructuring—the labor collectives, territorial communities, sociopolitical and mass organizations, and leading cadres at all levels;

—an attack that is effective, full-blooded in practice, one that mobilizes the forces of the entire party and the whole of the people.

However, we must not delude ourselves into thinking that we will not encounter difficulties during our advance.

—This is inevitable. We are now entering into the very essence of restructuring, the heart of things, the decisive stage of the change.

What are these difficulties?

First, we will meet serious difficulties in overcoming monopoly in all fields of life.

—The fact is that monopoly extends its tentacles into the party and state organs, into public organizations, into economic activity, and into intellectual life, and is drawing close to the higher echelons, where the issue of the allocation and handover of power also has to be faced.

Monopoly is a terrible plague. It will defend itself with all the powers and means at its command.

—The struggle is going on, and will continue, to retain the old structures that guarantee individual power and a monopoly of individual groups and persons.

—The struggle will also continue to retain the privileges that are the fruit of the previous command-bureaucratic mechanisms, granted, so to speak, by God.

Should we fail to cut the heads off this monster, it will increase and heighten the difficulties at all levels, and will destroy restructuring.

Second, noncadre people and those who have lost their skills and professional and moral qualities will create a lot of difficulties for us.

—The noncadre person will fight restructuring to the death, because otherwise he will have to emerge from his state of anonymity and publicly reveal the material and moral damage that he is causing to society.

—This will be shown up everywhere where the lack of creative ability is compensated for in other ways.

—Some of these people will line up under the flag of restructuring.

—Every revolutionary change is well aware of the froth, people who make a "revolutionary" hullabaloo, but themselves are no use for effective and productive work.

—It is our duty not to allow such people to gain selfish profit from the flag of restructuring, because this is our flag, the flag of renewal.

Third, difficulties will come from some of the cadres, in the structures that are now being broken up.

—Many of these cadres, which include some good specialists, are still waiting to see what happens.

—Some of them are adopting the position of being offended, are stirring people up, and using their authority and influence to demoralize people.

However, by doing this they are most of all undermining the confidence in themselves.

—It is a well-known fact the party and government is acting in a humane way and with proper concern, by preserving the pay of these cadres and giving them the opportunity to reorganize themselves.

—Unfortunately, certain people are displaying inexplicable capriciousness.

One thing must be clear: The time for personal choice is running out. Restructuring has its own logic, and whoever fails to understand this should annoy with himself.

One must appreciate the full depth of the old truth that **cadres do not exist in general.**

—In Bulgaria today there are cadres, both Communists and nonparty people, young and old, that are campaigning for restructuring, and also cadres that are waiting to see what will happen, and thereby—whether objectively or subjectively—forming a obstacle.

—The party, state, and people cannot count on cadres that are waiting to be transferred to a new post, or for their pay and privileges to be increased.

—We need cadres that will battle for their places and that will become the leaders of the renewal processes.

—Today, it is not enough merely to support restructuring, the chief thing is what specifically you are doing for restructuring.

—This is the dividing line, the yardstick for every post, for every person from the bottom to the top and top to bottom.

When we speak about the cadres from this aspect, it is useful to once again present the example of the "Montana" Plant in Mikhaylovgrad, or, more precisely, the example set by its director. He began his career

earlier in the same plant, and subsequently became deputy chairman of the okrug people's council. After the oblasts were formed, he went back to his plant, which was facing failure in fulfilling its plan and suffering from a bad atmosphere within the collective, a big labor turnover, and many other acute problems.

—Both the labor collective and the new director are bringing this enterprise into a leading position.

—For the needs of restructuring the plant, a mechanism of administration and organization is being introduced that is of importance for the whole of light industry.

These are the cadres for which we must clear the road, and whom we must support in every possible way. Their road, to speak figuratively, is the road to heaven. The converse is distortion of the cadres, and this means the road to hell.

—The first alternative is to set an example for those around you, within your family.

—The second is to create difficulties, including difficulties for yourself and those near to you, to stain their honor.

Fourth. Restructuring is a test for the party, and of its organizational, ideological, and ethical work.

—This is a test for the Communists to the highest degree.

—For all Communists—young or old, leaders or executive workers, experienced or not.

No one has the intention of suggesting any purge within the party, but restructuring demands a specific, individual assessment of every Communist in accordance with the statute and in accordance with the party's traditions.

—It is clear that two-faced people and careerists have made their way into the party.

—If certain party organizations are not ready for the struggle, then they should rid themselves of the laggards, since restructuring means action and movement in a forward direction.

The Communists and party organs and organizations must set an example of a new style and method of work, an example of restructuring.

—Restructuring in thought.

—Restructuring in action.

A complete renewal of party work is required.

—Renewal of our organizational approaches and practices.

—Renewal of the forms and means for working with the masses.

—Renewal of the mass media, which are called upon not only to reflect public opinion, but also to shape it, to be a collective organizer of practical activity in real life.

We have declared, and were right to do so, that the party is not a stage in the management of the state.

—However, this does not reduce the responsibility of the party organizations and the Communists for the fate of restructuring; quite the reverse, it increases this responsibility many-fold.

Following the July plenum of the Central Committee, our party dispatched its best cadres to the key positions, where the most important questions were being resolved in the economy, the intellectual sphere, and the territorial communities.

—In those places where they have taken the responsibility on their own shoulders, the results are clear to see; in such organizations and municipalities there is order, discipline, and calm, and the tasks are being fulfilled.

—However, in a number of places the Communists who were sent to lead certain sectors and activities are not fulfilling the party's instruction; there are deviations in certain cases, and on occasion even serious distortions, and the role of the party organizations is being depreciated in the name of personal or group interests. This results in double damage—both to the party and to the labor collectives.

—The combat ability of the party organizations, especially in these sectors, does not meet the requirements.

It is necessary at all levels to be fully conscious of the following:

—The party does not have two policy lines; here there is no keeping of two sets of books, and none can exist.

—There is only one line—deeds, and only deeds, for the triumph of the July Concept.

All the above demands that we, the Communists and party organs and organizations at all levels, further activate our work, and carry out the task that we have been charged with—to become the most active and decisive factor for restructuring.

As can be seen, the further development of restructuring must be a nationwide cause, a cause in which all the social factors, and all components of the subjective factor, play an increasing role.

—As has been the case so far, the Bulgarian Communist Party will form the vanguard for restructuring.

—There is no doubt that the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, our tested ally in building the new society, will also be in the front line of restructuring.

—We are sure that the public organizations and movements will also make their own contribution to restructuring.

Comrades, these are the questions that the Politburo believes must be singled out, in order to speed the solution, based on the July Concept, of the pressing problems in the economy and the other spheres.

With the solving of these problems, our society will increasingly become a self-regulating one under the conditions of self-management.

We did not imagine that everything would switch to the new tracks, and that the new model of socialism would be realized at a single stroke. For this reason, we adopted the formula: **change by stages [etapnost] and advance, advance and change by stages.**

It is now necessary, without neglecting the requirement of change by stages, to create conditions for eliminating whatever hinders us from **speeding the practical implementation** in real life of the July strategy for restructuring our society.

Our determination to carry this cause to completion is unshakable. Twice as unshakable is our confidence that this cause will be crowned with success for the well-being of the people and for the further flourishing of our homeland.

Government Bans Export of Certain Goods

*AU2012090988 Sofia BTA in English
0831 GMT 20 Dec 88*

[Text] Sofia, December 20 (BTA)—The OFFICIAL GAZETTE publishes today a decree by the Council of Ministers which makes certain amendments to the "Export Tariffs" Section of Bulgaria's Customs Tariffs. The list enumerating the food products banned for export by physical persons is complemented with: grain and any kind of grain products whatsoever, any kind of sugar products, canned foods. The list banning the export of non-food products determined by the customs tariff is complemented with the following: any kinds of lining fabrics, bath robes and towels, any kind of shoes, men's and ladies woolen ready to wears or containing woolen materials, electric stoves and radiators, refrigerators and freezers, any kind of paints and lacquers, wool and woolen yarns, leathers and leather products, soap powder and detergents, household brass fixtures and fittings.

The ban is not applied when the goods and products are bought from the specialized shops—duty free shops or other shops working on currency base, when their price amounts to 50 per cent of the leva value of the convertible currency, exchanged in Bulgarian Bank or Tourist Bureau, reads the decree.

That means that the ban is not applied to goods of the aforesaid kinds which have been bought from the "KOREKOM" specialized shops or their price does not exceed half of the sum of the currency exchanged by the foreign citizen, for which the citizen will have to present a document from the Bulgarian Bank or a document from a Bulgarian tourist representation.

CPSL Central Committee Discusses Plan

*LD1912232588 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1730 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] The CPSL Central Committee met in Bratislava today. It discussed the results of the implementation of the plan for social and economic development in the current year, the plan for the coming year, the course of the restructuring of the economic mechanism, and the tasks arising for the work of the party in Slovakia from the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The meeting was attended by Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary.

In the opening speech Comrade Ignac Janak voiced the conviction that the results of the 12th session would be met with full support, not only from Communists, but from the general public in Slovakia, as well. He also stressed the importance of convening the 18th CPCZ Congress, which will meet a year earlier—on 10 May 1990. The task of the entire pre-congress period in Slovakia will be to focus entirely and intensively on how to project the great potential advantages and possibilities of socialism into concrete results in the economy, technology, science, culture, social development, and in the way of life.

Today the CPSL Central Committee also discussed the draft of its new cadre order, which contains increased demands on cadres from the standpoint of current needs. The nomenklatura of the Central Committee is being reduced and the powers and accountability of the lower segments of the party's structure as well as of the relevant senior officials in implementing the cadre policy within the area of their operation are being reinforced.

Furthermore, the Central Committee discussed and approved the request submitted by Comrade Miloslav Valek to be released from the post of a member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and the minister of culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic. Comrade Ignac Janak took this opportunity to thank him sincerely for his many years of selfless work in responsible party and state posts.

The Central Committee at the same time approved a proposal that Comrade Jozef Durica be released from the post of a CPSL Secretariat member.

The main item on the agenda, as we have already reported previously, was a report on the implementation of the plan for social and economic development in the current year; on the plan for the coming one; and the course of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the tasks arising from the CPCZ Central Committee 12th session for the work of communists in Slovakia, which was delivered by Ivan Knotek, Slovak premier. We shall now acquaint you with its main ideas.

In assessing the results achieved in the implementation of the tasks set in the 8th 5-year Plan in the branches controlled by the Slovak Government, we are proceeding from the specific features of the year 1988, Comrade Knotek said at the beginning. The development indicates that better results have been achieved in the current year than those achieved during the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. There exists a realistic prerequisite that planned production will be fulfilled in industry—the construction sector as well as in the agricultural and food complex. The planned tasks concerning exports into the socialist states will be fulfilled as well.

Comrade Knotek then dealt with certain negative trends in the development of the national economy. Despite an overall improvement, strain persists between the resources and requirements in such areas as the domestic market, foreign trade, production quality, slow structural changes, and capital investment, where the problems have even deepened. Enterprises have not been securing planned production and deliveries evenly both on schedule and in economic designation, structure, range, and quality of products. The failure to observe the principles governing financial and wage policy has also caused strain in the economy and, coupled with it, has also caused economic and political problems to many enterprises. This is because a fundamental change has not as yet occurred in the attitude and personal responsibility of each individual for the fulfillment of tasks.

In assessing the fulfillment of the tasks set in the government's policy statement delivered at the 11th session of the Slovak National Council, the government admitted self-critically that the resolutions adopted at the CPSL congress, although worked out, had not been fully applied in practice, thereby bringing only partial results.

Both the unevenness of production and the lack of harmony between its structure and the requirements of customers have been persisting throughout the year, despite the growing criticism of party and trade union bodies. Stocks have increased disproportionately and a large part of the resources created have become immobilized. Problems persist in the area of contractual relations. In Slovakia stocks are above the planned level by almost Kcs 4 billion. The government has instructed Comrades Urban, Steis, Varga, Margetin, and Nagy to actively tackle this situation along with the State Bank of Czechoslovakia, and is of the view that these problems can no longer be dodged.

The considerable losses and insolvency of enterprises constitute no less an economic problem in the Slovak economy. Despite the gradual reduction of losses, we are still having to tackle the problems of 52 enterprises, which have incurred losses amounting to Kcs 630,000,000 during the first 10 months of this year. These shortcomings have had a considerable influence on the national income which, although increasing by between 3.5-4.0 percent compared with last year, had an overall shortfall of approximately Kcs 3 billion against

the plan for 3 years. The government is therefore determined to demand all sectors and national committees to apply personal penalties on those who take an irresponsible attitude toward the fulfillment of the state rationalization programs.

Afterward Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek detailed the situation in individual sectors. He pointed at serious problems in the timber processing industry, where only a partial improvement have been made in reducing losses incurred by enterprises. He cited the timber combines at Pezinok, Saris, and Bucina-Zvolen, the furniture factory at Vranov, and the cellulose factory at Zilina. Light industry enterprises have not been securing tasks in the desired quantity, quality, and range, either. The government has taken measures to modernize certain plants and to stabilize the labor force in the selected centers of this branch.

Ivan Knotek assessed the results achieved by the chemical industry, which accounts for 42 percent of the statewide production but which, however, is not achieving the needed results in meeting requirements. This occurs, for instance, in pesticides and raw materials for the pharmaceutical industry. In comparison with enterprises in the Czech SR we continue to lag behind in qualitative indicators when assessing the results in industry.

The report positively assesses the results achieved by the agricultural and food complex in ensuring balance on the food market, and apart from good results achieved in cereal production, it critically assesses the development in sugar beet and potato production. The given state calls for the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Machine Building, and Electrical Engineering to be more active in tackling the comprehensive mechanization of growing and harvesting these two crops.

Comrade Knotek dedicated a considerable section of his speech to the questions of supplies to the population. He said that this was a serious problem, especially this year when we have been witnessing a faster growth of the purchasing power of the population against the growth of supplies of goods to the stocks of consumer goods. This imbalance has been influenced unfavorably by increased purchases by citizens and by unregulated tourism, which has drawn away goods from the stocks of consumer goods by approximately Kcs 2,800,000,000. For this reason it was necessary to make temporary customs restrictions. Both the federal government and the Slovak government have taken a number of measures to improve supplies to the domestic market.

Comrade Knotek said that in regard to foreign economic relations, we are not fulfilling the principal intentions of the 8th 5-Year Plan, both in regard to which territories our exports are going and in increasing their effectiveness. In exports to the socialist states during the first 3

years of the current 5-year plan we shall lose Kcs 1.9 billion in comparison with the plan, as a result of the lower appreciation [zhodnoceni] of input [of labor, material, energy].

The next section of the report delivered at today's CPSL Central Committee meeting by Slovak Premier Ivan Knotek concerns capital investment. Serious problems persist in finishing construction projects.

This year such important projects as the Slovafarma Hlohovec, the Universal Hall, two projects in the BEZ enterprise in Bratislava, the extension of the heat plant in Vihorlat Snina, the mechanical and assembly production lines in the MEZ Michalovce, and some others will not be completed. And not even the completed projects achieve the planned design parameters. In the interests of an improvement, the government has ordered the Committee of People's Control of the Slovak SR to carry out checks in 47 projects put in operation during the last and the current 5-year plans.

In the housing construction we record a shortfall of more than 6,000 apartments—most of them in Bratislava: 1,500. This shows the insufficient managerial work of directors of enterprise and production economic units of Pozemne Stavby [construction enterprise]. We must not tolerate past statements that the construction of schools, hospitals, and other facilities and public amenities takes 8, 10, and sometimes even more years.

Then Comrade Knotek spoke about the tasks of the 1989 Plan. He said that the basic condition for the achievement of a change in the required quality lies in the improvement of management and planning in particular. The implementation of two-tier management requires the establishment of new relations between planning organs, sectors, and enterprises. It is necessary to say openly, he stressed, that relying on the enterprise sphere to provide the details for the structure of production and conditions of the production process of enterprises is incorrect. Extensive approaches and requirements for more employees, materials, and energy as well as for new building projects are unrealistic. We have to come to terms in principle with this fact as early as next year. The pressure on the utilization of the basic production funds, the full utilization of working time, rewards only for good quality work which has been really carried out, the fast return of every single koruna put into the investment process and the scientific-research activity—these are not only slogans, but limiting conditions for the achievement of the necessary economic changes. A fundamental turn on the path of the effective intensification of the national economy can be achieved only through a considerable increase in the effective contribution of the scientific-research base in the creation of the national income in Slovakia. All capacities of the scientific-research base, including applied research, have to be redirected toward the acceleration of structural changes

and toward the introduction of new technologies which increase the technical and utility parameters of products which can be compared with world standards.

We shall more consistently and more quickly implement the principle of financial autonomy and self-financing in applied research, and broaden elements of financial autonomy incentive where basic research is conducted—the Slovak Academy of Sciences and high schools.

The plan of investment-building for 1989 also focuses on the strengthening of intensification factors. Next year 26,700 apartments are to be completed in all forms—this exceeds by more than 6,000 the average of the past 2 years. The government will pay increased attention to the construction of health facilities, the development of the capital of Slovakia, and ecological projects.

It is paying exceptional attention to the stabilization of the internal market, where for example deliveries of video recorders are to be increased by 5,300 sets, color TV sets by 13,000, and refrigerators by 17,000 if compared with this year's level. It notes, however, that this will not fully satisfy the expected consumer demand. The renewal of balance on the internal market is put by the government to the foreground of its activity, as well as the activity of national committees.

In the interest of a flexible removal of problems and of a comprehensive character of the solution, Comrade Murin, first deputy premier of the Slovak SR, has been entrusted with the responsibility for the coordination of the internal market.

In the conclusion of the report, Comrade Knotek dealt with questions on the restructuring of the economic mechanism and tasks of the economy in Slovakia as an integral part of the Czechoslovak economy. He said that the economy of Slovakia will continue to increase and in this way will improve the population's standard of living. The precise definition of position and activity of the unified managerial center is one of the important prerequisites of efficiency of the restructuring. In the first stage 148 state enterprises were set up on the territory of Slovakia, and in the second stage we will set up 262 state enterprises. During the establishment of these enterprises, a number of problems have emerged due to the fact that approved principles of restructuring of organizational structures have been ignored—this is true not only in the activity of organizations, but in the activity of ministries, national committees, and the government committee for planned management as well. During the establishment of enterprises, industries', local, and personal interests have often been asserted at the expense of rational decisions. He said that the government is preparing educational courses for senior managerial workers.

In the conclusion of the report, Comrade Ivan Knotek stressed that the size and challenging character of tasks bind party members, party organs, and organizations to head the consistent struggle for their fulfillment.

In the work of the government, ministries, national committees and enterprises-economic sphere, the government of the Slovak SR wants to consistently assert the party line, directed on high demands and personal responsibility for results from entrusted sections of economic and social activity.

We have acquainted you with main thoughts from of the report which was presented today at the session of the CPSL Central Committee by Comrade Ivan Knotek.

The proceedings then continued with a debate, in which ten comrades spoke. They voiced their full support for the report of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and pointed out the need to further improve the quality of the work of party bodies, to deepen democracy, and to have a comprehensive attitude toward the tackling of the most urgent problems.

Among those who spoke in the debate was Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central committee secretary. He stressed, among other things, that in making preparations for the 18th party congress the party was taking resolute steps to promote restructuring as an essential means of acceleration, and strengthening the party's leading role and its capability to mount actions. Party bodies must, however, react even faster to the shortcomings ascertained, assess them objectively, and take necessary political measures. In terms of cadres, the ensuring of the preparations of top party deliberations is of special importance in this period. Not all existing officials are capable of coping with the present demanding tasks. Their necessary replacement must correspond to this, Frantisek Hanus stressed in his speech in the debate.

After the debate the participants in the CPSL Central Committee meeting approved a letter of thanks sent by the party's Central Committee to Miroslav Valek. Among other things the letter pays tribute to the highly committed and actively creative work Comrade Valek has done for the CPCZ and the development of our socialist homeland. The letter says that the artistic activity of many years, in which Comrade Valek has been reacting sensitively to the needs of human existence and consciousness, also deserves a high degree of admiration. As a poet he has created work which ranks among the enduring values of our socialist society.

We will now acquaint you with the content of the resolution from today's CPSL Central Committee meeting.

In the resolution adopted, the Central Committee notes that positive results have been achieved in the fulfillment of the tasks set in the 8th 5-year Plan in a number of areas in the economy of the Slovak SR this year. Volume indicators are being fulfilled both in the output of the

industry, in the construction sector and in the agricultural and food complex. The fulfillment of qualitative indicators and of the financial economic plan has improved partially, which is having an influence on the strengthening of the solvency of economic organizations. The growth of the money incomes of the population and of both personal and social consumption has increased.

Despite this improvement, problems in the intensification of the reproduction process, in the even fulfillment of planned tasks, and in contractual relations are persisting. Shortcomings on the domestic market and in housing construction are intensifying. The slow pace of overcoming problems and eliminating shortcomings is having a direct impact on the daily life of our citizens and on shaping their consciousness and attitudes. The CPSL Central Committee regards it of prime importance to achieve the planned growth of the national income and its use in line with the state plan for next year. This requires speeding up the process of the growth of effectiveness in individual branches of the economy in Slovakia.

The successful realization of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the speeding up of the comprehensive application of it in practice from as early as 1990 is a prerequisite for achieving qualitative changes in the economy. It is expected from party bodies, organizations and Communists that they will be at the forefront of the activity and that they will actively create a demanding atmosphere in work collectives.

In the resolution adopted at today's meeting, the CPSL Central Committee instructs party bodies and organizations and all Communists to take essential measures to thoroughly secure the tasks of the state plan and to fulfill the measures adopted to achieve the planned growth of the national income and its effective use.

At the conclusion the CPSL Central Committee calls on all party bodies and organizations to thoroughly and speedily work out the resolutions of the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee and of the current plenary session of the CPSL Central Committee in their own way. At the same time it voices the conviction that communists and all working people will unfold creative working activity in honor of the convened 18th CPCZ Congress.

At the close of the CPSL Central Committee session Comrade Ignac Janak took the floor.

He recalled that this year in Slovakia we have recorded an advancement in social and economic development, but that we cannot be satisfied with the unbalanced development which is persisting in a number of economic sectors. For this reason it is necessary that communists pay special attention to the fulfillment of the plan. Both the manufacturing and trade sectors must play a key role in improving this state of affairs; fundamental change must occur in capital investment.

Work in the new economic conditions, Comrade Ignac Janak continued, requires adopting and rapidly implementing in Slovakia concrete programs for the structural rebuilding of manufacturing branches in line with the requirements of the Czechoslovak economy, as well as programs for the further elimination of loss-making productions. In this connection he underlined that this requires modernizing manufacturing branches. At the same time the growth of effectiveness is not possible without a faster utilization of the results of scientific and technological development and the international division of labor. We must apply its new forms and possibilities to a greater extent. The scientific and production association Robot in Presov, Avex in Bratislava, and others serve as examples.

Comrade Ignac Janak stressed that today's deliberation of the CPSL Central Committee is to help significantly in mobilizing party bodies and organizations, communists, and all working people as well as public bodies and organizations for the fulfillment of the tasks of social and economic development in the coming year. In this connection he recalled that it was important that the tasks set in the plan were responsibly discussed in work collectives.

In conclusion Comrade Janak thanked all communists and fellow citizens in Slovakia for the work done. He voiced the wish that the coming year be a peaceful one, and that we contribute by the results of our work to the further advancement of socialism, both in our country and the world at large.

Jakes, Bilak Address Foreign Service Meeting
LD1212190588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1700 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] A 2-day consultative meeting of senior staff and party officials of the Czechoslovak foreign service devoted to topical tasks of our diplomacy in the period of restructuring started in the Cernin Palace in Prague today.

Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, explained in detail the meaning and goals of the economic reform and dealt with the first experiences gained from its implementation and with measures adopted for its acceleration. He singled out as the most decisive the need to achieve a fundamental turn in the improvement of productivity and efficiency of the national economy and in the broader participation of our economy in the international division of labor, above all within CEMA. Changes in the organization and management of the production base, the newly adopted or being drafted legal norms, and the broadening of working people's participation in the management and administration also aim at this.

Comrade Milos Jakes also said that the party Central Committee will discuss this week a draft for the earlier convening of the 18th CPCZ Congress in 1990, will

examine results of the national economy this year and the draft plan for next year. He stressed the fact that the need to convene the party congress a year earlier proceeds from the important changes in our society and in the world. The party congress in 1990 will also enable us to discuss earlier the aims of the 5-year plan. Comrade Milos Jakes said it is necessary to use the pre-congress campaign for the development of the working people's initiative, for public debate on the problems of the life of our society, and for a broader analysis of our development in the past years.

The main tasks of Czechoslovak foreign policy in the period of restructuring were dealt with at the consultative meeting by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. He stressed that restructuring must not be viewed in a simplistic way as a slogan but as a long-term complex program the implementation of which demands devoted work and decisive attitude. When characterizing the present international situation, he stressed the untiring effort of the Soviet Union for the improvement of international relations and the assertion of new political thinking as shown by the proposals put forward by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev at the UN General Assembly session last week. As a priority task of our foreign policy he singled out the allround strengthening of cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and in this connection he stressed the importance of creative use of their experiences. He said that in the present varied world it is necessary to cooperate with all political forces for the strengthening of peace and the removal of the threat of war.

Indra Chairs Assembly Presidium Meeting
LD1312001588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1600 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] In Prague today the Presidium of the Federal Assembly, chaired by Comrade Alois Indra, discussed a

report on the fulfillment of the legislative program of the federal government and the prospects for the immediate future.

Minister Marian Calfa, when explaining the report, said that the acceleration and intensification of socioeconomic development cannot be carried out without corresponding changes in a great number of laws and other generally binding legal regulations. The legislative process places greater and greater demands on organs which take part in drafting, discussing, and approving legal norms. This is why the participation of deputies of the Federal Assembly in the drafting of laws is being broadened significantly.

The legislative program for the next year is being broadened more than originally anticipated because of the acceleration of economic restructuring by 1 year.

The Presidium also discussed and approved a plan of main tasks for the Federal Assembly and its organs for next year. It also dealt with reports on international relations by our highest legislative body in October and November.

Vaclavik Received by Ranking Syrian Politicians
AU1512120288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
8 Dec 88 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] On the third day of his visit in Syria, Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense, paid a visit to aviators of the Syrian Armed Forces. On the same day he was received by 'Abdallah al-Ahmar, deputy general secretary of the Ba'th Party, and later by 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, vice president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Bern Expels 2 Imprisoned East German Spies

LD2012103788 *Berne International Service*
in English 1000 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Switzerland has expelled two convicted East German spies after they served two-thirds of their prison term. Police escorted the couple to Zurich's international airport where they boarded a flight out of the country. A court in Lucerne had condemned them to jail terms of 5 years each for setting up an intelligence network on behalf of East Germany. The couple had lived in the Lucerne area for more than 20 years under the assumed name of Huebner before they were arrested in 1985.

U.S. Ambassador Presents Credentials

LD1912143988 *East Berlin ADN International Service*
in German 1243 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, today accepted the credentials of U.S. Ambassador Richard Clark Barkley in the headquarters of the Council of State. Ambassador Richard C. Barkley conveyed best wishes from U.S. President Ronald Reagan, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker.

Topical questions on the international situation were discussed in the ensuing discussion. Erich Honecker described the far-reaching proposals Mikhail Gorbachev made in New York as a significant initiative for the continuation of the disarmament process. They have the lasting support of the GDR. The interlocutors noted that the development of political dialogue and relations between the GDR and the United States could promote the detente process, and could contribute to the consolidation of international security and cooperation.

Reportage on Visit by PLO Leader 'Arafat

Honecker, 'Arafat Remark on Ties

AU1912160188 *East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*
in German 16 Dec 88 p 1

[Gunter Stechow, ADN, report: "Cordial Meeting of Friends"]

[Text] East Berlin—It was an extremely cordial welcome that was given to Yasir 'Arafat, representative of the Palestinian people and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, on Thursday morning [15 December], when he arrived at the seat of the State Council. In front of the building in Marx-Engels Square, the flag of Palestine had been raised beside the GDR's state flag. An honor guard from the National People's Army flanked the entrance. Yasir 'Arafat was given a friendly welcome with strong applause and flowers by the State Council employees in the hall which he entered just before 0900.

In front of the reception hall on the second floor, Erich Honecker awaited his guest. Both statesmen greeted each other warmly with a fraternal embrace. Yasir 'Arafat was

moved when he expressed his gratitude: "I feel that I am with sincere friends." In one of the conference rooms the host, the guest, and other public figures of both sides sat down at the roundtable. Numerous journalists, picture reporters, and television journalists from the GDR and abroad caught this third meeting between Erich Honecker and Yasir 'Arafat this year, their first friendly talk on this day after the important appearance of the PLO chairman at the UN General Assembly in Geneva, in words and pictures. Erich Honecker sincerely congratulated Yasir 'Arafat on the Palestine debate, which had been observed so attentively by the world public.

After every important event I come to my friends in the GDR, the Palestinian representative said. We are proud of this. And tonight when I arrived in Berlin, I shed a tear of joy when I left the plane and saw the honor guard who were lined up for my welcome. I stress: It was night, and nevertheless! [as published]

Erich Honecker said in response that this is a matter of course for the GDR, in particular after this development, after the establishment of the Palestinian state and in view of the fruitful diplomatic relations. In addition, it is an expression of the things we have in common, he added.

Our meetings to date have always been meetings between friends, between fighters for a common cause, Yasir 'Arafat said, referring to the previous words. And he added, addressing Erich Honecker: You have stood at our side in difficult times, also in times which were among the most dangerous for the Palestinian people. And you yourself have struggled for the reestablishment of unity within the PLO and for the consolidation of our relations with our friends all over the world. Therefore, he stressed, it is no coincidence that the GDR—with you at its head—recognized the Palestinian state so quickly. Everything that the PLO has achieved has been achieved together with the GDR. The successes of the Palestinian movement have always been based on the influence of the GDR friends.

Erich Honecker cordially thanked Yasir 'Arafat for these words, before both politicians started an extensive exchange of views.

On Role of Palestinian State

AU1912180888 *East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*
in German 16 Dec 88 p 2

[Report by Holger Wenk: "State of Palestine Will Make Its Contribution Toward Peace"]

[Text] The decision of 154 states to shift the 43d UN General Assembly to Geneva is "a clear vote of the world public and a great support for the just and peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict," PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat declared to GDR journalists in Berlin on Thursday [15 December].

During the talks in the Niederschoenhausen residence [where 'Arafat is staying during his visit] the PLO leader declared in this context: "The U.S. declaration to establish direct dialogue with the PLO can only be seen as a step in the right direction." There can be no doubt that this decision provides a great opportunity for the Palestine cause, 'Arafat added.

Though the Israeli leadership's stance considering this kind of a political settlement is negative, the PLO is to continue its peace initiative, because "this is our new strategy," Yasir 'Arafat noted. The historic decisions of the National Council in Algiers have opened up a new stage in the Palestinian people's struggle for the implementation of their right to self-determination and to founding a state of their own. "My speech in the UN plenary and the press conference in Geneva, in which I submitted and outlined the Palestinian peace initiative, is proof of this." At his UN address 14 years ago, he held an olive branch in one hand and a gun in the other. Today he only holds an olive branch as a sign of the PLO's success during the past 40 years and the Palestinians' efforts to achieve peace.

Until the state of Palestine is established, intifadah, the uprising against the occupants in the occupied areas, will continue. This is a joint decision between the PLO leadership and the people's masses, 'Arafat said.

Referring to the future state of Palestine, 'Arafat stressed: "Up to now more than 86 countries have recognized the state that was proclaimed 1 month ago; a total of 128 states declared their full support." The state of Palestine will contribute to peace in the whole world.

The PLO leader described his working visit to Berlin as the expression of "unswerving and friendly relations between the Palestinian and GDR peoples." These proved successful also in difficult stages of the 40-year struggle. 'Arafat described his exchange of opinions with Erich Honecker as "constructive and important."

Recent UN Speech Praised

*AU1912172488 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 15 Dec 88 p 2*

["how" editorial: "Yasir 'Arafat at the United Nations"]

[Text] On Tuesday [13 December] PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat submitted important proposals to more than 700 delegates of UN states for solving a complicated regional

conflict, which has a global effect on more than 700 delegates of UN states. This was at the UN seat in Geneva. In the "freest country in the world," in New York, the international dialogue on this issue was not possible because the U.S. Administration refused to grant 'Arafat a visa, thus violating its duties as a host.

The "Palestinian peace initiative" presented by him is aimed at defusing the explosive situation by peaceful means and on the basis of the UN Charter and Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. In the PLO's view, this means that the security of all countries in the region—including that of the State of Palestine—is ensured, their territorial integrity and political independence is guaranteed, and violence, the threat of violence, and terrorism are excluded.

The central issue of the proposal is an international Middle East Conference under UN aegis with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all parties involved in the conflict, including the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, international troops under UN control are to ensure the withdrawal from the territories occupied by Israel.

During his appearance in Geneva, which was watched attentively all over the world, Yasir 'Arafat expressed the hope that "the voices that support the olive branch—the peaceful coexistence and international detente—will be heard." He appealed to those in responsible positions in Israel: "Let us make an optimistic peace, far from the arrogance of power and the weapons of destruction, far from occupation and oppression, humiliation, murder, and torture."

The GDR welcomes and supports the PLO initiative—as it was again stressed by its representative in Geneva yesterday—as an important contribution to a comprehensive, lasting, and just peace in the Middle East. A settlement in accordance with the norms of international law and the goals and principles of the United Nations can be reached best by coming closer to each other and by business-like negotiations. This is exactly what Yasir 'Arafat proposed in Geneva.

December Session of Parliament Convenes

Stadinger Opens Meeting

LD2012122188 Budapest MTI in English
1117 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 20 (MTI)—The December session of parliament opened in Budapest on Tuesday. The session was opened by Istvan Stadinger, speaker of parliament. Present in the chamber were Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of HSWP, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other members of the HSWP Political Committee, the president of the Central Control Committee and the secretaries of the Central Committee.

Judging by the agenda, MPs are in for a busy session. They will decide on the merger of ministries and the foundation of a new ministry, they will enact a new law on the 1989 budget of the Hungarian People's Republic, amend the law on personal income tax and discuss the bill on a social security fund. The agenda includes a debate on the bill on vocational contribution and the fund for vocational training, and a decision will be taken on issues related to foreign investment in Hungary. MPs will also discuss the bill on assembly and associations.

Assembly Approves Agenda

LD2012111588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0922 GMT 20 Dec 88

[National Assembly session agenda presented by National Assembly President Istvan Stadinger—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, I propose that the order of subjects of our session be:

1. Discussion of the draft law on the classification of ministries and of personnel proposals.
2. Discussion of the draft law on the Hungarian PR's 1989 budget, together with the associated draft laws.
3. Briefing and proposal on the message of the pope, the pope in Rome, aimed at respecting the rights of national minorities.
4. Discussion of the draft law on the amendment to the Law on Personal Income Tax.
5. Discussion of the draft law on the amendment of the first law of 1986 on duties.
6. Discussion, in a joint debate, of the draft law on the social insurance fund and of the amendment to the law on social insurance.
7. Discussion of the draft law on vocational training contributions and on the vocational training fund.
8. Discussion, in joint debate, of the draft law on foreigners' investments in Hungary and of the draft on the amendment to the Civil Code.
9. Discussion, in joint debate, of the draft laws: A. Draft law on the amendment to the Constitution: B. Draft law on the right of association: C. Draft law on the right of assembly. Naturally, as regards the three submissions, the National Assembly will pass separate resolutions.

10. Discussion of the draft law on the amendment to the first law of 1976 on national defense.

11. Discussion of modification of the orders of procedure of the National Assembly.

I ask the esteemed National Assembly whether it accepts this sequence of subjects. Those who say yes, please vote by raising their hands. Thank you—a visible majority. Please, who is against? No one. Who abstained from voting? No one. Therefore, I establish that the National Assembly has accepted the order of the subjects in the proposed form.

Draft Budget To Be Discussed

LD2012122388 Budapest MTI in English
1054 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 20 (MTI) - The major point on parliament's agenda today is a debate on next year's budget. MPS will discuss three versions. Under the first version, incomes account for 519,407 million forints and expenditure for 539,370 million forints. Under the second, incomes account for 532,107 million forints and expenditure for 551,583 forints. The third version has incomes standing at 501,907 million forints and expenditure at 521,557 million forints.

The first version calculates with 50-per-cent corporate profit tax approved by the November session of parliament, and a special dividend paid on state-owned property used by companies, the value of both of which will go up as compared to this year. Under this version, expenditure would also go up. More funds would be allocated to higher education and research, health, social and cultural purposes and the maintenance of law and order. The real value of subsidies to defence and administration would decline. The second version also envisages a cut in subsidies, especially to the armed forces, social organizations and companies. This version does not count on the dividend paid on state-owned property used by companies among the incomes, but, in addition to 50-per-cent corporate profit tax, it envisages a 6-per-cent additional tax. The third version envisages the same cuts in subsidies as the second, but reckons with the housing fund set up by companies to finance the gap between interest rates on subsidized loans to home-builders and those of the banks.

National Assembly Session Ends

LD2012100088 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0900 GMT 20 Dec 88

[Excerpts] [Unidentified correspondent] Good day, dear listeners, from parliament building's session hall. The National Assembly session is beginning traditionally, and we are relaying this session live. [passage indistinct] have taken their seats. They are asking the deputies to be quiet, and the Council of Ministers' members are assembling. Listen now to Istvan Stadinger: [passage omitted]

[Stadinger] Before I make a proposal concerning the agenda, I should like to make a motion regarding deliberations. I will propose 12 agenda points, and no great divergence from this can be made owing to the large number of submissions on the agenda. From the work of the National Assembly, what is important is that it should work well and fruitfully. Haste is not a consideration. For this reason it could happen that we will not finish by this weekend discussion of the proposed agenda points. For this reason I propose we take a stand, in advance, that we should suspend the session at 1230 on Friday, insofar as we do not finish deliberations by then, and that we set a following session for 10 January.

I have received several verbal requests and one written request, that we should hold deliberations no later than 1700 GMT or 1800. [passage omitted] The National Assembly has much work. For that reason I propose that in order to make the division of work more expedient, we set the time of completion for deliberation at 1830. Of course, if someone is speaking at that time we will continue.

Esteemed National Assembly, seeing that this may later be grounds for debate, I ask that those who accept what I have motioned raise their hands. Thank you. There is such a visible majority that I do not try the votes against, and neither do I ask about abstentions. Thus, I establish that the National Assembly will meet in session until 1230 on Friday, and it will convene its next session 10 January. In general, it will continue its deliberations until 1830.

Grosz' Attitude Toward Reforms Viewed
AU2012115188 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER
ALLGEMEINE in German 20 Dec 88 p 1

[Georg Paul Hefty commentary: "Ambiguous Attitudes in Hungary"]

[Excerpt] Crucial developments are under way in Hungary. At home, during meetings with party leaders of other socialist states, and during visits to the major Western capitals, party leader Grosz advocated and explained the concept of "socialist market economy" and "socialist pluralism" and tried to gain the confidence of Western leaders. He gave the impression of being someone who guarantees the implementation of the reform policy, which is more highly regarded in Bonn and Paris than in East Berlin and Bucharest. Grosz has resigned as prime minister and confined himself to the role of party general secretary. He did this because he was no longer able to achieve a balance between the necessary opening of the state leadership and the attempts at isolation by the party leadership, which made him untrustworthy at home and abroad. To ensure the party's adherence to the policy of change and to determine its course, the powerful economic reformer Nemeth was appointed head of government and not the social reformer Pozsgay, because the party is not yet ready to accept his ideas.

As party leader, Grosz must apparently come to terms with the resistance that is being put up at home and abroad against the further reduction of the power of the communists, which is the core of every reform. Following the separation of the two positions, it has become difficult to detect the general secretary's real intentions. At the Budapest Sports Palace, Grosz told "the opponents and enemies of the party" that the party "controls the stadiums, workplaces, squares, and—if necessary—also the streets." Was this a concession to the orthodox communists in the country and the mistrustful among the allies and a promise that the party will retain control over events, or was it a threat? His warning against the "growing aggressiveness of the hostile bourgeois-restorative counterrevolutionary forces that are small in numbers but make themselves felt everywhere—was it intended as evidence of his vigilance or was it a serious challenge? Finally he used ominous expressions like we are going in the "right direction," and that this is "class struggle of the first order." Are phrases like these required to please the dissatisfied trade unions, or has Grosz resorted to a sacrosanct slogan to justify the reform policy whose targets remain open? The party leader opened the speech with these attacks, but later he explained the government's reform program in detail as the precondition for "socialist renewal." This can be interpreted in many different ways.

At the moment, it seems that Grosz wants to take off pressure from the Nemeth-Pozsgay-Nyers Government. This involves quite a risk for the general secretary. He must achieve the difficult task of winning the party over to further reforms while pretending to agree with the party or one of its wings. This strange speech, however, could also be seen as a sign that Grosz wants to give in to the conservative forces within the party while retaining his reputation of being a reformer for the time being.

Communique on Central Committee Meeting Issued
AU1912160688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 19 Dec 88, p 1

[Text] The MSZMP Central Committee held a meeting on 15 December.

In addition to the Central Committee members, the following people were also present at the meeting: the chairman and the secretary of the Central Control Committee; heads of the Central Committee departments; first secretaries of county and municipal party committees; secretaries of the Budapest party committee; heads of the central press.

The body paid its respects to its deceased member, Comrade Istvan Tompe.

The Central Committee discussed and approved the following:

—A report submitted by Janos Berecz on topical political issues;

- A report by Miklos Nemeth on modernization of the government activity;
- A proposal made by Karoly Grosz on personnel issues.

I

1. The Central Committee welcomes the announcement made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization that in the spirit of creating an atmosphere of mutual trust, the Soviet Union has decided to make unilateral troop cuts, backing up its novel concept of security policy by deeds as well. In the interest of the future of the European peoples and entire humankind, it is particularly important that the Soviet Union has set the alternative of coexistence and cooperation against the security concept based on the possibility of mutual annihilation and intimidation. This will hopefully be followed by initiatives of members of the North-Atlantic Alliance to promote the building of mutual confidence. With this, the prospects of the talks that will start shortly on the reduction of conventional weaponry might considerably improve.

The Central Committee highly appreciated that the effect of the measure extends to the Soviet Armed Forces stationed in Hungary. This collated move answers our national interests. The body confirmed that, in keeping with our foreign policy and defense endeavors, we continue to take an initiating role in putting into practice the Soviet proposals, and in furthering the limitation of conventional armaments.

The Central Committee supports the Soviet initiatives aimed at expanding Soviet-U.S. dialogue, strengthening security in Asia, paving the way for settlement in Afghanistan, easing tension in the world economy, and creating a new world order based upon cooperation.

2. The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party expresses its deep shock and sympathy over the earthquake that took a great toll in loss of life and caused enormous damage in Armenia. The Central Committee supports the individual and collective initiatives of the party aimed at providing financial assistance to the victims of the natural disaster and to the relatives of the deceased. It asks the party members to contribute, commensurate with their possibilities, to the actions expressing the sincere sympathy and solidarity of the Hungarian people.

The Central Committee decided that its members would make an additional pledge to help the victims.

II.

The Central Committee discussed some topical political issues on the basis of its resolution passed on November 22, 1988.

1. It established that the main trends of development specified by the policy statement of the party conference have been present in the home policy processes of the recent period in a marked way. The economic and political transformations are carried out in interdependence but in different ways and at a different pace depending on conditions.

The party strives to create the new national consensus of progressive-minded people and movements, constituting the overwhelming majority of Hungarian society, on the broad basis of renewing socialism.

The Central Committee calls upon the party members to seek cooperation, on the basis of the program of renewal of the MSZMP, with the political movements of citizens motivated by other progressive, left-wing, democratic and popular-national ideas. The party is prepared to maintain a dialogue and cooperate with people who are ready to support the common aims formulated together with the progressive movements only in part. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party professes that all who respect law have a place in the emerging new national consensus.

The Central Committee regards it as natural that the various movements develop their relations with the party in accordance with their own goals and programs, and on the basis of the MSZMP policy. Likewise, the MSZMP is also formulating its stand concerning the various political movements and the issues of the party system on the basis of its own program, goals, and analysis of the efforts and actual activities of the various social and political movements.

2. The Central Committee starts from the fact that the party builds itself from all strata of society, which means that as regards its social basis it is able also as a single party to formulate and represent the principal political interests of the Hungarian people. The political program of renewal following the party conference, the ideology for modernization, the increasingly democratic internal life of the party, and the broad social supervision of the party's activity all provide a proper basis for this task.

3. The Central Committee attaches outstanding importance to the new constitution which is being drafted at its proposal. The body expressed its intention to discuss the concepts of the new Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic in the first half of 1989 and, if necessary, to deal again with some important political principles of drafting a constitution. It recommends to present the draft constitution to social debate in the second half of next year, and parliament should discuss it in the spring of 1990. The body proposes that the new constitution should be put to a national referendum after parliament has passed its decision.

The Central Committee recommends to hold the nationwide councils elections in autumn 1989, and the parliamentary elections in autumn 1990 under the new constitution.

The Central Committee is to discuss the new electoral bill in the first quarter of 1989. The draft includes the alternatives of one- or two-chamber parliaments and the possibilities for elections by list and forming coalition.

5. The drafting of the party law should be adjusted to the elaboration of the constitution. The Central Committee is to discuss the question of the party system in the first quarter of 1989.

6. The body has set up a committee, headed by the general secretary, to work out the draft policy statement of the Central Committee concerning the one- or multi-party system, the approach to the alternative organizations and the election mechanism.

III.

The Central Committee noted with approval a report by Miklos Nemeth on establishing the uniform government of regional and settlement development, construction, communication, postal services and telecommunication. The Central Committee agreed that the government submit the planned modernization and reorganization to the National Assembly.

The Central Committee approved recommendations for filling state posts.

IV.

The Central Committee passed decisions on personnel issues falling within its competence. The Central Committee relieved Miklos Nemeth of his function of CC secretary because parliament had elected him chairman of the Council of Ministers; elected in a secret ballot Pal Ivanyi, chairman of the Budapest Metropolitan Council, secretary of the Central Committee; relieved Lenard Pal, secretary of the Central Committee, of his post at his own request, because of retirement, with recognition of his merits; relieved Valeria Benke, president of the editorial board of TARSADALMI SZEMLE (SOCIAL REVIEW), of her post because of retirement, with recognition of her merits; relieved Katalin Radics, head of department at the Central Committee, of her post and elected her president of the editorial board of TARSADALMI SZEMLE; relieved Peter Varga, head of department of the Central Committee, of his post, because of retirement, with recognition of his merits.

The Central Committee approved a proposal for the composition of its standing committees, the head and members of its consultative body, and the heads of its working communities.

International, Legal and State Management Policy Committee: Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party,

Social Policy Department: Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee,

Party Policy Committee: Janos Lukacs, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee,

Economic and Social-Welfare Policy Committee: Pal Ivanyi, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee.

The chairman of the advisory body affiliated to the Central Committee is Pal Romany, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and rector of the MSZMP Political College.

The chairmen of the particular working communities:

International Legal and Public Administration Policy Committee

Chairman: MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz;

Secretary: State Secretary Gyula Horn, member of the MSZMP Central Committee;

Members: Sandor Borbely, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and national commander of the Workers' Militia; Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti; Central Committee member Jeno Fock, retired chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations; Central Committee member and Interior Minister Istvan Horvath; Central Committee member and Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati; Central Committee member Mihaly Korom, retired Central Committee secretary and chairman of the Constitutional Council; Central Committee member Geza Kotai, head of a Central Committee department; Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros; Central Committee member and Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi.

Social Policy Committee

Chairman: Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz;

Members: Jeno Andics, head of a Central Committee department; Janos Barabas, secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee; Central Committee member Gyula Bereczky, president of Hungarian Television; Central Committee member Ivan T. Berend, chairman of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Hungarian Radio President Istvan Hadju; Politburo member Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the Pest County party committee; Central Committee member and PPF General Secretary Istvan Huszar; SZOT Secretary Mrs Kosa Magdolna Kovacs; Central Committee member Magda Molnar,

director of the Helikon Publishing House; Tamas Szentes, deputy director of the Institute of Social Sciences of the MSZMP Central Committee.

Permanent Observers: the rector of the MSZMP Political College and the responsible secretary of the KISZ Central Committee.

MSZMP Delegation Returns From Warsaw
LD0912205388 Budapest MTI in English
1522 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—Headed by First Secretary Mihaly Jaso, the delegation of the Budapest Party Committee returned from Warsaw on Friday. The Hungarian party delegation stayed in the Polish capital for two days at the invitation of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP). Mihaly Jaso held talks with Janus Kubasiewicz, first secretary of the PUWP's Warsaw Committee, and met Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the PUWP and secretary of the Central Committee.

PPF Delegation Returns From Visit to Poland
LD0912184188 Budapest MTI in English
0800 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 9 (MTI)—The Delegation of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front, headed by General Secretary Istvan Huszar, have returned from their three-day visit to Warsaw. They held talks with leaders of the Polish People's Front Movement, including General Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek and President Jan Dobraczynski, and met Josef Czyrek, member of the Political Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, vice-president of PRON. A discussion was held with Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, vice-president of the Council of State and chairman of the Central Committee of the Democratic Party, on ways and means of intensifying cooperation, and the cooperation agreement of the two movements was extended for a further five years.

2500 Students, Teachers Stage Protest
LD1912191588 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Recently there was a report on a protest by teachers and students against the untenable situation of education and culture. Approximately 2,500 protested in Budapest. They also drafted a petition containing their demands in hopes that the winter session of the National Assembly will reply. Jozsef Orosz reports from the scene, on the banks of the Danube:

Some 2,500 people gathered at the Jozsef Eotvos statue on the Pest bank of the Danube, at 1700. Participants in the demonstration are teachers, students, and all those who consider the critical level of negligence of education and culture to be close to their heart. Here, 2,500 people want education and culture to be salvaged.

At 1730 hours the demonstrators set off, with police security, toward the parliament building, via Jozsef Attila Street and Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Road, but they were unable to get to the parliament building. A (?halt) was ordered at the end of Constitution Street.

A petition was drafted for the National Assembly which meets tomorrow. In it, the protestors demanded that the National Assembly put on the agenda an analysis of the current state of education and culture, develop a concept, and try to do this while ensuring the necessary conditions. They also demanded that in 1989, the real value of the sum devoted to education and culture should increase by 50 percent, then double the current amount by the following year. The teachers await substantive measures from the National Assembly. A five-member delegation handed the petition over to a representative of the National Assembly.

'Alternative Groups' Organize Budapest Meeting
LD1912213988 Budapest MTI in English
2004 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 19 (MTI)—Monday afternoon in Budapest, certain members of several alternative groups organized a meeting in central Budapest, in Vorosmarty Square, and voiced their demands in connection with the work of the National Assembly session to open on Tuesday.

Among others, the speakers noted that the delays and postponements apparent in deciding about major issues contribute to aggravating the crisis. They demanded freedom of assembly and protest, to found parties, and the freedom of strike, and to elect a constituent assembly instead of the current National Assembly, and to work out a new draft constitution.

The Press Department of the Ministry of the Interior reports:

Two demonstrations were held on Monday afternoon in the capital. There were no disturbances at the demonstration organized by the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ), nor at the following march of the Democratic Trade Union of Teachers, and no police measures were taken.

Csongrad County Party Elects First Secretary
LD1112200388 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] A new first secretary has been elected to head the Csongrad County party committee. Following a double candidacy the county party conference has elected Dr Pal Vastagh, dean of the faculty of state and law at the Attila Jozsef Science University in Szeged. Zsuzsa Ladanyi has sent her report from Szeged on the events of today's county party conference:

[Ladanyi] The Csongrad County party conference continues its work with the participation of party General Secretary Karoly Grosz. Today, the conference discussed first the editorial committee's summary of the orally expressed and the written contributions. The delegates were able to get to know the content of the written contributions. One idea featured regularly in the majority of the written contributions. There is a need for radical changes, for impeccable leaders, for rapid and resolute decisions. The party conference should condemn the abuse of power, the grabbing. With regard to leaders, some have said: There is a need to recover as soon as possible from the functionary's disease that a leader feels himself to be more important, superior to his electorate. Instead of this, the approach of being a leader for and a leader of [the people] should become natural. One contributor also warned that those who constantly note the need for reform but who really want to conserve the old are the most dangerous enemies of those aiming for renewal. On the other hand, those who take a stand against mistakes must not be qualified as oppositionists.

The views of the intelligentsia also receive great emphasis in the 36 written contributions. The idea that the greater the amount of physical work in a given type of job the more socialist it is must also be changed.

Both in the spoken and written contributions it was said that the party must construct as soon as possible a new statute in which both the protection of the minority view and the requirement of multinomination are formulated. In this respect Karoly Grosz asked the delegates to be patient; they should bear with this transitional period between the present political situation and the congress. Reacting to the contributions, he said also that in accordance with the work program of the May party conference a debate will begin next year on several issues which strongly preoccupy the party membership, including the relationship between territorial and enterprise party organizations.

Increase in Licenses for New Press Publication
AU1512171088 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 14 Dec 88 p 3

["Hegyes" interview with Pal Kocsis, deputy head of a main department of the Office of the Council of Ministers: "More Than 1,700 Valid Licenses: New Publications Established One After the Other"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] In accordance with our press law, it is within the authority of the Office of the Council of Ministers to issue licenses for dailies and other periodicals in Hungary. As many new periodicals of different structure and content have appeared lately, we asked Pal Kocsis about the increase in publication of periodicals and about the licensing practice.

[Hegyes] How many requests for licensing arrive nowadays in your office?

[Kocsis] It is difficult to estimate the daily average, because there are days on which we receive five such requests and there are days that we get only two such requests, so our turnover is quite big. Bureaucracy in licensing publications is practically a matter of the past. A periodical eligible for licensing which has adequate press facilities can be published within 2 weeks from the request for a license.

[Hegyes] What do you mean by the expression "eligible for licensing?"

[Kocsis] Both our Constitution and our press law contain stipulations concerning dailies and other publications. This eligibility applies to the content of the publication in question, namely, it should not oppose the regime and it should not violate the general human norms, human rights, and public morals. [passage omitted]

Church Groups Hail Gorbachev's UN Proposal
LD1212213288 Budapest MTI in English
1841 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—The inter-church peace committee of the Hungarian Peace Council—expressing the sincere joy of the adherents of the historic Protestant, Orthodox, Free Church, Unitarian and Jewish communities rallied in the committee—and the Catholic Priest Committee of the Hungarian Peace Council welcome the highly important announcement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union, made at the UN General Assembly about the decision of the Soviet Union to adopt unilateral disarmament measures, runs the statement of the two committees issued on Monday.

The document states that this brave decision exerts an extremely beneficial influence on easing tension, building confidence in international life, and the cause of peace and disarmament. The will for peace of the faithful, including members of the Hungarian religious communities, is also manifest in the goals, the accomplishment of which will directly and favourably affect Hungary in respect of the armed forces reduction.

All this and the presumably positive response from the other side give reason for increasing hope and imposes growing commitment to the continued service of peace. The inter-church and the Catholic peace committees call on the faithful to pray for further similar moves to be taken towards disarmament and just peace.

Chief Rabbi on New Jewish Cultural Association
AU0912181988 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 6 Dec 88 p 3

[Interview with Chief Rabbi Istvan Doman, editor-in-chief of the bimonthly Jewish journal UJ ELET, by Andras Balint: "Church and Society—The Jewish Community Is a Seismograph"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] We interviewed Istvan Doman 2 days after the establishment of the Cultural Association of Hungarian Jews. As is well known, this association is not

organized on a religious basis and anyone who agrees with the goals of the association, including non-Jews, can become a member.

[Balint] Has the establishment of this association caused surprise among religious Jews in Hungary?

[Doman] Of course it has not; because culture, as well as participation in and financial support for the arts and sciences have always played an outstanding role in the life of Hungarian Jews. Culture here has always been essentially Hungarian, and it also preserves the traditions of several millennia of the Jewish intellectual spirit. Therefore, it is no accident that a Cultural Center of the National Representation of Hungarian Jews has been established in recent weeks, with the aim of promoting the efforts of the National Public Education Association of Hungarian Jews, an organization established before World War I and disbanded in 1944. This association can create an organic link with secular Jews and can help the Jews' adjustment within society.

[Balint] Lately, considerations have publicly been voiced that the Jewish denomination could become a recognized national minority in Hungary if the Jewish organizations were to demand this status.

[Doman] I am convinced that there is no massive demand for this, precisely because the enthusiastic Hungarian Jewish population of 80,000 people is basically Hungarian in terms of language and culture. However, there will probably be people among us who do not think so, and who feel that ensuring their collective rights would make it easier to preserve Jewish self-awareness. [passage omitted]

[Balint] How did Hungarian Jews react to the declaration of a Palestinian state?

[Doman] I do not want to take stances on topical political issues, this is not my task. Naturally, the Palestinians have a right to establish their own state; but I think they themselves do not clearly see the way to implement this right. However, we sincerely welcome the fact that the Palestinian declaration has openly recognized the existence and sovereignty of the State of Israel. [passage omitted]

[Balint] As is well known, political changes, primarily if these changes are burdened with economic difficulties, are often accompanied by nationalist and racist emotions directed against the minorities. This is clear in the case of the gypsy population. Have Hungarian Jews also experienced such emotions?

[Doman] Our community works as a seismograph, it reacts sensitively to any major external changes. If the standard of living deteriorates, some people immediately search for and allegedly find scapegoats. Anti-Semitism in Poland has increased perceptibly in recent years, although only 2,000-3,000 Jews remained in Poland

following the deportations and massive emigrations. Some blinded people, however, act as if this Jewish minority were to blame for the tensions that have emerged and for that country's 20 years of stagnation. This manipulated intention can also be seen here in Hungary. We were deeply shocked at historian Miklos Szabo's declaration in the "Gondolat" program of Hungarian Radio, according to which the time has come to establish an anti-Semitic party. What is this? Are we back in the same situation as the one that prevailed before World War II? Hungarian Jews strongly condemn such and similar attempts. [passage omitted]

Romanian Minorities Hold National Congress

*AU1512140288 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 9 Dec 88 p 4*

[Interview with Gyorgy Mark, general secretary of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary, by Andras S. Boda: "To Be Romanian in Hungary"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary will hold its seventh Congress in Gula between 10-11 December. The 93 delegates, representing the 20,000 Romanian minority living in Hungary, will discuss the life of Romanians in the last 5 years and the tasks of the coming years. The delegates are meeting in a complex situation and at a time that is not free of conflicts. We spoke with Gyorgy Mark about the prevailing feelings in the preparation for this congress.

[Boda] How does it feel to be a Romanian in Hungary today?

[Mark] It is difficult to give a precise answer to this question. We can be satisfied, if we regard our preserved national existence as an achievement. At the same time, this has, and still demands tremendous efforts from us, particularly nowadays. The Romanian national minority living in Hungary is particularly affected by the consequences of the deterioration in Hungarian-Romanian relations.

[Boda] Have you experienced anti-Romanian feelings?

[Mark] Unfortunately, we occasionally have experienced such manifestations. There are people who easily transfer political relations to human relations. Of course, there are still many people who know very little, or nothing, about the national minorities, about our life here, and these people hurt us, too. Nowadays, we often have to explain that we preserve our mother tongue and traditions as Hungarian citizens. Acceptance of this duality, of this dual identity, on both sides is the basic condition for our coexistence.

[Boda] You, Romanians in Hungary, are the smallest national minority living in Hungary. Some of the refugees from Romania are Romanian nationals, and this adds to the number of Romanians living in Hungary. Has the Federation done anything to accept and help these Romanian refugees?

[Mark] We have limited possibilities, partly financially, and partly because most of the Romanian refugees who do not speak Hungarian would like to go to the West. Of course, we try to help those who come to us. I mean here primarily providing Romanian-language education to schoolchildren, and providing temporary accommodation for the few families who came to us.

[Boda] To what extent does the current atmosphere affect the Romanian feelings of the people who are living here?

[Mark] Quite interestingly, this strengthens these people's acceptance of their national minority status. This could also be seen at the deputy nomination meetings. Romanian clubs are already operating in Szeged and in Budapest, too, clubs that were established in recent years in order to help preserve our language and traditions. [passage omitted]

[Boda] On 6 December the second channel of the Hungarian Television broadcast a documentary on the everyday life of Romanians in Hungary. What is your opinion about the film?

[Mark] The film presents a genuine picture of our everyday life, and unfortunately, also of the spontaneous assimilation among us. However, many of us think that it is not certain that the situation is that hopeless. Of course, when we speak, we speak mainly about our problems, but we also have great achievements. Our possibilities are increasing day by day: longer radio and television programs in Romanian. We issue our own weekly. Several books were published by the Federation, books by national minority writers, presenting our traditions. Our dance groups function well and are known all over the country. There is a Romanian department at the Teacher's Training College in Szeged. New school books are also in preparation....

[Boda] What are your relations with the mother nation?

[Mark] Unfortunately, they are bad, or better said, we have no relations. Our previously good relations have ceased, and not because of us. The only connecting link is the possibility to send 10-15 teachers to Romania annually to acquire further experience, but they can go only to Transylvania, in a Hungarian environment. [passage omitted]

Hundreds of Refugees Flee Romania Daily
PM1412135888 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH
in English 14 Dec 88 p 9

[Robin Gedye report: "Two Hundred Refugees Fleeing Romania Every Day"]

[Text] Each day between 150 and 200 ethnic Hungarians brave the rifles of Romanian border guards to seek asylum in Hungary, Hungary's Foreign Minister, Mr Gyula Horn, said in London yesterday.

It had been believed that the total was no more than 200 a week.

Mr Horn, on a four-day visit to Britain, said Romania's "systematisation" programme, under which the government is bulldozing up to 8,000 villages in pursuit of an industrial modernisation programme, had caused a wave of suicides by people who could not face being forcibly relocated.

Although Romania was reported in October to have abandoned plans to demolish the villages, after international pressure, Mr Horn said there was little evidence that anything had changed.

The refugees streaming into Hungary each night have caused problems for the Budapest government, which faces rising unemployment for the first time since the 1939-45 War.

Some of the refugees have relations in Hungary who offer them help, but thousands depend on the Red Cross and church charities to survive.

Austria, whose refugee camps are bursting with Soviet bloc escapees, has said it is willing to accept a limited number.

There are nearly two million ethnic Hungarians in Romania.

Deteriorating relations between the two Warsaw Pact allies are aggravated by the unresolved problem of 12 ethnic Hungarians from Romania who sought asylum in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia last September. They remain unable to leave because of Bulgaria's refusal to allow them to fly to Hungary.

Short of smuggling the refugees, who include a mother and child, three married couples with three children and a teenager, out of the embassy and risking a further worsening of relations with Bulgaria, Budapest's hands are tied.

Slovak Federation Elects New Leaders

LD1112212888 Budapest MTI in English
1716 GMT 11 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 11 (MTI)—'It is the interest of the whole society that ethnic minorities preserve their vernacular, culture and identity and that they were not forced into assimilation,' said Robert Ribanszki, secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front in Budapest on Sunday, the closing day of the 8th congress of the Democratic Federation of Slovaks in Hungary.

It was said in the debate that in the countries where most Slovaks lived, the state bodies supported vernacular education without waiting for central guidelines. Contributors called for the establishment of a faculty of Slovaks studies at the Nursery Teacher Training College of Szarvas, because the education of Slovak nursery teachers was unsatisfactory. It was proposed that Slovak be taught in higher education as a second language.

Participants welcomed the announcement that from January the first channel of Hungarian television would feature two Slovak magazine programmes instead of the current one.

The federation elected its national committee commissioned it to amend the federation's statutes in line with the bills on assembly and associations and the nationality bill, currently being worked out. The congress elected Matyas Sipiczky as president and Mrs Maria Jakab as general secretary.

First Hungarian-Soviet Commercial House Founded

AU1512123688 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP
in Hungarian 10 Dec 88 p 1

[Report signed "M.I.G.Y.": "The First Hungarian-Soviet Commercial House Established in Budapest—Direct Exchange of Goods"]

[Excerpts] The Soviet State Committee for Material and Technical Supply (GOSNAB) and the Hungarian Credit Bank have created a Soviet-Hungarian mixed enterprise named Azimut. On the occasion, Hungarian Credit Bank President Sandor Demjan and Mikhail Kozin, Soviet commercial attache in Budapest, signed the founding document in the Forum Hotel on 9 December. [passage omitted]

The task of the new mixed enterprise will be primarily to discover the stocks of goods suitable for an exchange of goods and to directly exchange these goods, by providing a suitable financial background for such transactions. Operating with market methods, the new mixed enterprise will enable the exchange of goods within a given group of products and could also link various industrial branches. Azimut will have its headquarters in Budapest and will open an office in Moscow. [passage omitted]

The basic capital of the new enterprise is 100 million forints, and according to plans, Azimut will also market goods on third markets. [passage omitted]

Janos Berecz Visits Vienna, Talks With Leaders

AU1512114788 Budapest MTI in English
1826 11 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 11/12/1988—Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and secretary of the Central Committee, visited Vienna from December 8 to 11 at the invitation of Heinz Fischer, vice-president of the Socialist Party of Austria and president of the party's parliamentary group.

Janos Berecz held talks with Heinz Fischer and Guenther Sallaberge central secretary of the Socialist Party of Austria, and met other leaders. The parties to talk looked into opportunities for extending cooperation between the two parties.

At the cordial and friendly talks it was stated that there were several areas where the pooling of experience and an open debate could be useful to resolve the tasks facing the parties in development of the two societies and which also would serve the deepening of the good-neighbourly bilateral relations. The pooling of experience in these areas was termed necessary.

Janos Berecz visited the exhibition organized to mark the centena of the socialist workers' movement in Austria.

Janos Berecz met Franz Muhri, president of the Communist Party of Austria.

Mayor Zilk Holds Talks With Grosz, Nemeth

AU1212132188 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
10-11 Dec 88 p 2

["P.M." article: "Fresh Impetus for Austria and Hungary: Special Cross-Border Economic Zone?"]

[Text] Austria and Hungary could be the first states in Europe to establish a special cross-border economic zone. Vienna Mayor Helmut Zilk said this at a news conference on Friday [9 December] during which he reported on his talks in Budapest with party chief Karoly Grosz and the new Premier Miklos Nemeth.

Nemeth and Chancellor Vranitzky will meet in January on the occasion of the opening of a West Hungarian telephone center in Szombathely, which was constructed by an Austrian company. The talks there will focus—according to Zilk's idea at least—on the possibility of "eliminating the border" around lake Neusiedlersee.

On the basis of a joint stock company, according to which a special duty-free area is to be created on the border of Sopron, a special cross-border zone could be established which would include the most varied spheres, such as environmental protection (National

Park East), tourism, and the establishment of trade and industrial enterprises. In this connection, not only Austrian construction companies would receive orders, but interstate enterprise forms would be worked out. [passage omitted]

Trade With Iran To Reach \$400 Million in 1989
LD091222588 Tehran IRNA in English
1746 GMT 9 Dec 88

[Text] Tehran, Dec. 9, IRNA—The volume of trade between Iran and Hungary would hit dollars 400 million next year according to a draft protocol inked by the two countries in Budapest.

Mines and Metals Minister Mohammad Reza Ayatollahi announced the agreement on his return today from Hungary, where he participated in the joint economic commission.

According to the protocol Iran's aluminium company and aluter company of Hungary will cooperate in aluminium technology, exchange data relevant to production of triolite, manufacture of new industrial profiles and extraction of alumina powder from bauxite.

Among other joint cooperation will be the annual production of 15,000 tonnes of prochrome and 55,000 of promanganese in Iran and team-up between research iron and steel institutes in Iran and Hungary, Ayatollahi added.

The two sides agreed on a list of Iranian non-oil, industrial and mineral exports to Hungary which include concentrations of lead and zinc, chromite, barite, talc, bentonite, strontium sulphate, construction slabs and fluorine.

During his 12-day visit Ayatollahi also held talks with leader of Hungary's Communist Party Karoly Grosz who paid an official visit to Iran in October.

PPF Supports Israel Friendship Society
LD1212214688 Budapest MTI in English
1935 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—The Hungarian-Israeli Friendship Society has been set up to operate with the support of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. The first public meeting will be held on December 21.

Trade Talks With U.S. Take Place
AU1612094288 Budapest MTI in English
2134 GMT 14 Dec 88

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 14/12/1988—John Roberts, co-president of the Hungarian-American Business Council and chairman of American International Underwriters, an insurance company, held talks with managers of 15 Hungarian foreign trade and industrial enterprises at the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce on Wednesday. The discussion, which was attended by Ilona Tatai, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and vice-president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, was also concerned with the formation of a Hungarian-based company with 100 per cent U.S. capital share. In this context, Mr Roberts called for the streamlining of relevant legal rulings effective in Hungary.

The next session of the Hungarian-American Business Council—its 15th—will be held in Budapest in July, 1989.

Olechowski on Foreign Policy Issues
LD1912220988 Warsaw PAP in English
1946 GMT 19 Dec 88

["Minister Olechowski on Polish Foreign Policy"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 19—Speaking to PAP, Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski said that "openness has become attributive of our relations with the world around. Conditions today are particularly good for that."

"At this backdrop the European line of our policy appears absolutely natural: Our basic interests and aspirations focus at this point. We are not only monitoring the European changes with great attention but we want to be their active participant, to co-architect and stimulate the processes of rebirth of the European identity and of building the continent's unity. I believe in Europe," Olechowski confessed.

When speaking about the relations between Poland and the FRG, Polish diplomacy chief pointed to "the real perspective for the creation of appropriate premises for the visit of Chancellor Kohl to Poland. We want it to be an important development, rich in political and practical substance, opening new prospects," he said.

"We expect of the Federal Republic, that the declarations—often made by government and political parties' representatives, stating the importance of Polish-FRG relations, the desire to develop them—be followed by a practical implementation of the 1970 treaty, the development of various fields of cooperation, including, particularly, the economic cooperation. We also expect the West-German postulates to be rested on a realistic basis, to correspond with the actual problems and needs of mutual relations without multiplying new obstacles to agreement. We do not evade talks on any topics, even those difficult. But it is necessary that they be properly justified.

"I believe, that the upcoming 50th anniversary of the Hitlerite aggression on Poland, the outbreak of World War Two—apart from reflection on the tragic past—should also incline to the work on a new, unbiased perspective for a peaceful co-existence and cooperation of societies in both countries. Poland is ready to cooperate with the FRG, to use the emerging and real opportunity to achieve a true improvement and enrichment of the substance of mutual relations," Olechowski said.

Minister Olechowski next commented on the Polish-Soviet relations. He said:

"We witness and co-architect an unprecedented development and a new character of mutual relations with the Soviet Union. Their main vector is an authentic partnership, reciprocal drive for a true rapprochement of our societies. This offers a rare opportunity for both states to

jointly overcome the residue of difficult past. Exactly, an open, sincere naming and joint solution of many questions previously hardly mentioned, is part of this process.

"The problem of Polish community in the Soviet Union should be dealt with under this very trend of unprecedented changes. The infrastructure of Polish consular offices expands in western parts of the Soviet Union," Olechowski went on.

"In our talks with our Soviet partners we raise the questions of the protection of Polish culture monuments in Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belorussia, as well as the commemoration of the activity of outstanding Poles, places related to Polish history, national remembrance, and culture.

"We also plan to increase passenger traffic. We have just had consular consultations with the Soviet Union. Both sides agreed that the existing regulations on tourist exchange and travel are no longer adequate to the new stage of relations. We shall, therefore, work on a new, comprehensive agreement," Olechowski told PAP.

Speaking of the relations with the GDR and Czechoslovakia Minister Olechowski said:

"The question of dividing the Pomeranian Bay waters has emerged after Poland and the GDR had expanded their territorial waters up to 12 nautical miles. It is due to the Pomeranian Bay's shape that the move, when made by the GDR, would put ship routes used and maintained by Poland over the whole post-war period into GDR territorial waters. This is, of course, unacceptable to Poland, considering the fact that there are no alternative routes for deep-sea shipping in the bay. Leaders of both countries have agreed that the principle of a free, direct, and unrestricted in whatever way access of the Szczecin/Swinoujscie ports to the open sea along the existing deep-water route should be a basis for the settlement of the problem.

"The GDR does not, generally, question our interests connected with free shipping to and out of the Szczecin/Swinoujscie ports, it is aware of the costs paid by Poland for the dredging and maintaining of these waterways. I believe that a chance is emerging to shortly reach a reasonable solution. Intensive works of experts are on.

"The stance of Czechoslovakia and the GDR on the question of working out effective solutions in the field of environment protection has not yet allowed to successfully finalize our initiative. We hope, however, to reach tripartite regulations and adoption of legal norms permitting, especially, an efficient execution of compensations for the losses we suffer because of pollution. Let me add, that at the recent meeting of the Committee of Warsaw Treaty Foreign Ministers in Budapest I made a proposal of signing, by 7 countries, a multilateral convention on environment protection.

"Moreover, we have observed with concern that in such an unusually important field for the authentic integration and closer relations between our societies as personal contacts, there is not only lack of clear improvement in the conditions of travelling but also new barriers are being created to slow down tourist exchange and, using a broader term, the exchange of people. We cannot agree to actions discriminating our citizens.

"We stand on the grounds of eliminating all formal and bureaucratic obstacles standing in the way of developing inter-human contacts. We are against surprise unilateral decisions taken by some socialist countries which disrupt the passenger traffic," Olechowski concluded.

ZSL Presidium Earmarks Funds for Armenia
LD13122333:8 Warsaw PAP in English
2107 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—Presidium of the Peasants' Party (ZSL) Central Committee, during its today's debates, expressed sympathy with the families affected by the earthquake, the whole Armenian society and the Soviet nation. The appeal was directed to ZSL members, farmers, cooperative members and employees of the state farms, institutions and enterprises working in the countryside to provide aid for Armenia by donating blood, food and clothes. The Presidium adopted a decision to earmark two million zlotys for purchases of indispensable goods for the victims of the catastrophe.

CC ZSL Presidium assessed the socio-political and economic situation of the country, emphasizing the need to call the "round table" debates as soon as possible.

The Presidium assessed also the production of fertilizers, soil lime and pesticides and evaluated the planned and implemented investments.

It also presented a motion to the government to stop the export of nitrogenous fertilizers and to curb the export of phosphatic fertilizers already in the year of 1989 and also emphasized that a sharp increase in the export of pesticides is needed.

Troops Return From UN Middle East Duty
LD1212173688 Warsaw PAP in English
1553 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Poznan, Dec. 12—The last group of the 30th shift of the Polish contingent of the UNDOF [UN Disengagement Observer Force] forces which supervise the observance disengagement agreement between Syrian and Israeli forces returned home today.

During the last six months the soldiers fulfilled logistic tasks i.e., they supplied the U.N. forces posts with water, food and fuel. They were also responsible for medical service and clearing the area of mines.

Party Control, Auditing Commission Head Changed
LD1912190888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the Central Control and Auditing Commission has been held in the party Central Committee building today. Włodzimierz Mokrzyński submitted a request to resign from the post of chairman of this commission, in connection with his appointment by the Council of State to the post of ambassador of Poland to Czechoslovakia. The commission plenum accepted this resignation.

Next, Wojciech Jaruzelski on behalf of the Politburo and the Presidium of the Central Control and Auditing Commission proposed Kazimierz Cypryński, political activist and Central Committee secretary of many years for the post of commission chairman. In a secret ballot the plenum elected Kazimierz Cypryński to the post.

New Chairman Discusses Role
LD1912225188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1800 GMT 19 Dec 88

[Text] The PZPR's Central Control and Auditing Commission [CKKR] convened for its plenary meeting.

[Unidentified correspondent] The discussion concerned the present economic situation and the ideological issues before tomorrow's 10th party Central Committee plenum. The discussion concerned the CKKR's tasks on all levels in the period preceding the national conference of PZPR delegates. Kazimierz Cypryński was elected as the new chairman of the CKKR.

Mr Chairman, what part does the CKKR intend to play to protect those non-submissive party members, who want to go along with the spirit of changes, but sometimes are bothered?

[Cypryński] Well, I think that the CKKR's work will be—it is and I think it has been so far—to read various people's intentions which perhaps do not always fit into certain accepted frames of thinking, and let's even say, decisions.

In connection with this, I think, that it is important to have a favorable attitude toward experimenting, but it is also important to work out certain new—as it were—approaches when it is necessary to assess things which are—as one colloquially may say—unheard of and for which we have no criteria worked out till the end. And I think that such attitudes will allow this central control and auditing body, as well as the voivodship bodies, to serve progress well and will positively influence the acceleration processes of change in our country.

New Officials Appointed, Biographies Reported

Council of Ministers

AU1412160288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
10-11 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] The organizational changes that have recently taken place in the Office of the Council of Ministers have also produced important personnel changes in senior posts. Decisions made by the chairman of the Council of Ministers have resulted in the dismissal of five persons and the appointment of four. With his transfer to the foreign service training center, Andrzej Zor was released from his duties as secretary to the Council of Ministers, and the post of undersecretary of state has been assumed by Kazimierz Malecki. The new appointments include the appointment of Zbigniew Borawski and Aleksander Borowicz to the posts of undersecretary of state.

Zbigniew Borawski was born in 1950 in Warsaw into an family of intelligentsia. He studied at the Main School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw, where he obtained a master's degree in economics. He started his professional career as an official in the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Policy, where he later held increasingly senior posts. From 1977 onwards he held the post of second secretary at the PPR Embassy in the GDR and dealt with affairs pertaining to the employment of Polish citizens in that country. On his return from the GDR, he resumed work at the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Policy and held the posts of chief of the labor department and chief of the minister's office. In 1987 he was appointed to the post of general director in the ministry and, following the reorganization of the highest state administrative organs, he assumed the post of general director in the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Policy. Since October 1988, the post that he has held in the Office of the Council of Ministers is that of secretary to the Council of Ministers Economic Committee. He is a PZPR member and is married with two sons.

Aleksander Marcin Borowicz was born in 1943 in Warsaw into an family of intelligentsia. He studied at Warsaw University where he obtained a master's degree in economics. He started work in 1966, and was at first an adviser in the Council of Ministers Planning Commission. In 1972 he was made assistant to the editor-in-chief of POLITYKA, and during the years 1976-81 he was a technical and economic expert at the state "Metalexport" enterprise. From 1981 onwards he held the post of adviser to a Council of Ministers deputy chairman and in 1986 he was made secretary of the PPR Sejm Socioeconomic Council. He holds the post of general secretary in the Association for Aiding Economic Initiatives. In his post at the Office of the Council of Ministers, he organizes cooperation between the government and the PPR Sejm and coordinates the work of the premier's social advisers.

He is a member of the PZPR.

Internal Trade Ministry

AU1412152388 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
8 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP Report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of internal trade, the chairman of the Council of Ministers released Tadeusz Hyla from the post of undersecretary of state in the ministry in response to his request and intention to take up other work. Thanks were expressed to him for his work. The chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Włodzimierz Hausner to the vacant post.

Włodzimierz Hausner was born into the family of a railroad employee in 1936 and has a master's degree in economics.

He started his professional career in 1955 as a teacher in a vocational school in Radziejow Kulawski, and was subsequently appointed to the post of director of the Elementary Vocational School in Strzelno. From 1962 to 1965 he was secretary of the Socialist Youth Union Voivodship Committee in Bydgoszcz, and from 1965 onwards he was director of the fittings factory in Glucholazy. In 1974 he was appointed to the post of director of exports at the United Chemical Construction Company "Chemak" in Warsaw. In 1975 he was transferred to the post of director of the materials economy section of the PZPR Central Committee Economics Department, and then became advisor to the minister with plenipotentiary powers for economic reform affairs. During the years 1982-85, he held the post of undersecretary of state in the former Office of Materials and Fuel Economy. Since 1985 he has been deputy chief of the PZPR Central Committee Socioeconomic Policy Department. He is deputy chairman of the main board of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration.

He is married and has a daughter.

Education Undersecretaries

AU1512140988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
12 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the minister of national education, the chairman of the Council of Ministers recalled Maria Berzyska and Aleksander Luczaka from the posts of undersecretary of state in the ministry and thanked them for their work.

At the same time, he appointed Zbigniew Wesolowski to the new post of secretary of state in this ministry, and Jan Marianski and Zbigniew Sajkowski to the vacant posts of undersecretary of state.

Zbigniew Wesolowski was born in 1942 in Bobcy, near Lwow, into a worker family. He studied at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, where he obtained a degree in mathematics. He started work in 1963 as a teacher in an elementary school in Gryfice. From 1965 onwards he was an instructor at the ZSL Gryfice District Committee. From 1966 to 1973 he held the posts of departmental head and then principal of the civil engineering school in Gryfice, and later he moved to Swinoujscie. From 1982 onwards, he was principal of the civil engineering school in Szczecin. Since 1982 he has been deputy education superintendent for Szczecin.

He is a member of the Presidium of the ZSL Voivodship Committee for Szczecin. He was an active member of the Society for the Popularization of Knowledge for many years.

He is married and has a child.

Jan Marianski was born in 1947 in Lazy, Konin Voivodship, into a worker family. He obtained a degree in political science at Warsaw University. He commenced professional work in 1971, as an assistant lecturer at Warsaw University. From 1974 onwards he was counselor, then deputy director, and then departmental director at the former Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technology. From 1987 onwards, he was director of the Department of Teacher Training at the Ministry of National Education. He is a PZPR Central Committee lecturer. He has received excellent assessments during successive cadre reviews, and was awarded many prizes by the minister of science, higher education, and technology, and by the minister of national education.

Zbigniew Sajkowski was born in Kamieniec Zabkowicki in 1948, into a family of the intelligentsia. He obtained a law degree at Wroclaw University. He is a doctor of history. His first job was as a miner at the "Jankowice" mine in Rybnik in 1966, but after completing his studies he commenced work at the Wroclaw University Institute of Political Science in 1971 as an assistant lecturer. Between 1972 and 1982 he was head of the department of science and education of the Wroclaw PZPR Committee, from where he transferred to the Central Committee Science and Education Department. In 1986 he was appointed deputy chairman of the Main Committee of Physical Culture and Tourism, and after the abolition of this committee he became departmental director in the Ministry of National Education.

He is married, with two sons.

18th Anniversary of Shipyard Events Commemorated
LD1512140188 Warsaw PAP in English
1200 GMT 16 Dec 88

[Text] Gdansk, Dec. 16—Society of the tri-city of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot paid tribute to the memory of the fallen shipyard workers today to mark the 18th anniversary of the December 1970 tragic events.

Delegations of the PRON municipal council here, the voivodship alliance of Trade Unions, representatives of the Lenin shipyard here, the Northern shipyard, the Radunia Repair shipyard, the Gdansk Repair shipyard, the Maritime Trade port, managers of the Northern District of the Polish State Railways and the rolling stock repair factory laid wreaths and flowers at the foot of the monument commemorating the fallen shipyard workers at the main gate to the Lenin shipyard.

Also, individual residents of the tri-city laid flowers at the foot of the monument.

Walesa Holds Press Conference 15 Dec
AU2012090588 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 Dec 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Lech Walesa's Press Conference"]

[Text] Gdansk—Lech Walesa held a press conference at the Church of St. Brygida in Gdansk on 15 December.

Asked by a Polish TV representative what he thought of the government spokesman's latest press conference and the remarks about him, Lech Walesa replied that he did not have the authority to evaluate the government spokesman's remarks, adding that he was not used to being praised like that.

The next question was: At the latest press conference, the government spokesman said: "I have always said that we are ready to consider a new model for the trade union movement in Poland. This model will be a pluralistic one, in accordance with the 1982 act." In view of such a statement by the government, can you accept it as a declaration of intentions and sit down at the "roundtable" with no preconditions?

Lech Walesa replied: This is very close to the truth, very close to a dot over the "i." However, the dot is still missing. We will make our stance known by the time of the next conference. This goes far in fulfilling our wishes and requests, but as to how far it fulfills them, I will consult with the entire base that collaborates with me to see if it meets with their approval.

Further in his conference, Lech Walesa answered questions chiefly about his recent visit to Paris and his meetings there.

Jacek Kuron on Solidarity Development
AU1912152988 Vienna PROFIL in German
19 Dec 88 pp 54-55

["Exclusive" article by Jacek Kuron, "Polish dissident and one of Walesa's advisors": "Fountain of Youth for Solidarity"]

[Text] The war that the rulers declared on Polish society on 13 December 1981 has deeply divided this society. As studies from 1982-85 show, only 15 to 20 percent of the

adult population identify with the state power and the order represented by it. Around 20 to 25 percent are determined opponents of the ruling system—and they do not hide their views. The rest do not want to express any opinion and remain passive.

Rather indirect questions suggest that this silent majority do not in any way believe the state power, do not think that it has good intentions or the ability to guide the state and the economy efficiently.

Two factors determine the indifference of the majority: They need most of their energy for the struggle for survival—and they no longer believe in the effectiveness of mass actions. They remember very well the defeat of 1982.

The minority who actively opposed the ruling system also remember this, but they remember, above all, their leaders' loss of authority during the first weeks of martial law. At that time, the opposition's appeals were increasingly in vain. Afterward, the underground structures of Solidarity and other independent organizations became increasingly authoritarian.

The strikes of May 1988 introduced a process in the opposite direction. Already earlier we had realized that new people had entered social life—young people who are particularly threatened by the degradation of civilization in the country, because they lack all the bases for life (housing, vocation, the basic subsistence level for their future families). These young people did not directly experience the defeat of 1982. They are impatient, militant, and courageous.

First, these young people were not able to find a way into the structures of Solidarity, because these were already too elitist. Isolated in this way, they were subjected to particularly great discrimination in their jobs—and they were the ones who started to fight back last May. Actually, they never came to Solidarity—they rather, took over Solidarity. They feel that an independent trade union is an indispensable weapon. Older Solidarity activists joined them, and the young people at the universities also supported them with campaigns, fliers, and slogans on the walls.

Even though the silent majority did not yet participate in the strikes in May, they observed them attentively, and gradually they became convinced that effective strikes are indeed possible. After work was resumed, the strike committees in Gdansk and Nowa Huta were turned into organization committees of the free trade union Solidarity. They started to gather members again. Already during the first months, about one-third of the employees joined the organization.

The strike wave in August was also started mainly by the young people, but this time they were joined by part of the silent majority. After these strikes, the reconstruction

of Solidarity became a mass phenomenon. By November, 35 to 70 percent of the working people in more than 300 enterprises had signed their membership statements. The changed behavior of the state power considerably promoted this process, because by virtue of its offer to hold the so-called "talks at the roundtable," it had practically recognized Solidarity again. This gave many people from the silent majority new courage, but at the same time it also confused the enterprise managements.

In Poland and in the other states of the communist camp the system, which is based on the central leadership of all social forces, bears the responsibility for the sick economy and the ruin of the entire country. For quite some time it has been obvious that this system is producing chaos that is unprecedented in world history, mismanagement, lack of freedom, and, ultimately, misery. For the same period, it has been known that the so-called nomenklatura—the members of the hierarchy in the state and party apparatus who have achieved power and privilege through the system of central control—constitutes a decidedly conservative force. The nomenklatura is defending its order with determination.

In Poland all attempts to reform the system by shifting from central control to market economy have always been made only under pressure from the rebelling society. (Footnote one) (By "society" Kuron means the citizens that are independent of the PZPR. "Social organizations" in this East European lingo are loose or structured associations that are not dominated or led by the PZPR) This was the case in 1956, 1970, 1980-81, 1982, and 1987. As one sees, the attempt at reform by Rakowski's government is already the sixth in this series. And every time the nomenklatura prevented the introduction of a market system—either with open resistance or by sabotaging all changes. Nevertheless, the various attempts at reform did not remain without effect: The system of central control was increasingly undermined, while the undivided power of the nomenklatura was preserved—not only simply as a hierarchy, but also through "pressure groups" of various origins. Mafia groups (local, regional, and branch-specific) developed, each of which has its own people at the levers of power.

Martial law, which was aimed against society, also offered a chance to discipline the nomenklatura, in order to carry out the reforms necessary to save the country and also the communist rule. Some leading persons in the PPR, at least, drew the logical conclusion that they must now truly support society. This is even more necessary for them since in the Soviet Union, too, the attempt to reform the system is continuing, and in the struggle against his nomenklatura Gorbachev is also calling on society to support him.

In 1986 the reformers in the PZPR Central Committee thought that Solidarity no longer had a social basis. Therefore, they thought they would be able to address society directly over the heads of the organized opposition. This goal was served by the wave of liberalization in

1986-87. Political prisoners were released and police reprisals were radically limited. At the municipal level, democratic reforms were announced, the so-called "second stage" of the economic reform was propagated. However, it again became clear that the nomenklatura does not want to permit any changes—and that society trusts the authorities as little as before.

The strike waves of this spring and summer proved that Solidarity is alive and, as long as living conditions in Poland do not improve, it will continue to gain power.

In this situation the courageous members of the political leadership have decided on a radical step—on the "roundtable," and thus have decided to reach an understanding with Solidarity and its allies. In response, "the party started to howl," as one leadership member reportedly said. Collective and individual letters of protest arrived; there were resolutions of the most varied bodies—allegedly there were even calls for strikes. In the end, the so-called "cautious forces" gained the upper hand in the leadership.

Instead of the "roundtable," the Rakowski cabinet was appointed, which is now again trying to carry out reforms against the nomenklatura. Everyone knows how this will end—everyone except Rakowski himself.

Solidarity and the clear majority of the opposition do not want an upheaval, but a process of democratic change and the rationalization of the economy.

Even though the current policy is strengthening us and is weakening the state power, we look to the future with concern. At the same time, however, hope lies in the fact that the profound crisis of the system has spread to the entire communist camp and that some of these countries—in particular the Soviet Union—are now pursuing a policy of reform with the participation of society.

However, our hope is primarily derived from the experiences of the past 40 years, which have shown that the Polish people stand behind peaceful forms of conflict and also know how to use these forms of struggle—even against rulers who are characterized by a drastic lack of responsibility.

PRON Presidium Urges Roundtable Debates
LD1212214088 Warsaw PAP in English
2037 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Jan Dobraczynski presided over the debates of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) National Council which met here today.

While conveying the words of deep compassion to the people of Armenia, the Presidium appealed to all Poles to, within their possibilities, continue their aid for the tragedy-stricken people of Armenia.

Discussing the current socio-political situation in the country, the PRON Presidium said that it is in the interest of Poland and all Poles to start the round table debates in the shortest possible time.

The Presidium firmly came out in favour of speeding up working meetings and starting the round table talks as soon as possible.

In connection with a PRON initiative to set up a civic committee for the commemoration of victims of Stalinism in Poland, the Presidium resolved to appoint a group to initiate the work of this committee.

Reportage on Politburo 13 Dec Session

Proceedings Reported

AU1912103788 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
14 Dec 88 p 1

[PAP report: "The PZPR Central Committee Politburo Met"]

[Text] On 13 December, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo approved the draft materials for the 10th Central Committee Plenum. It decided on the way in which these documents should be discussed with party members and activists.

The Politburo adopted a resolution on new, experimental organizational solutions and methods applicable to party work in the voivodships of Slupsk, Legnica, and Koszalin.

The Politburo said that these experimental solutions are an expression of the search for new methods of party work and an attempt to increase their effectiveness. The essence of the proposed solutions is to bring the work of PZPR cells closer to society, and to expand this work among various communities of party and non-party people. The new solutions should permit greater activity by primary party bodies, and encourage party cells to render greater support to initiatives from these bodies.

The Politburo asked the Central Committee Internal Party Commission, state representative and administrative bodies, and the Central Auditing and Control Commission to carry out a joint assessment of the effectiveness of these experiments every 6 months.

The Politburo discussed the concept of chambers dealing with self-management and economic affairs. This concept was born among circles of economic and self-management activists in enterprises. The chambers could consist of directors and chairmen of workers councils of enterprises, on a voluntary basis. They would discuss, among other things, draft economic legislation, together with conditions governing the functioning of enterprises; examine progress in the economic reform

and economic progress in factories; act as mediators in disputes between factory managements; and organize exchanges of experiences between work forces from different factories.

Sejm supervision over workers self-management bodies will facilitate an integration of efforts by economic managerial cadres and workers self-management bodies in improving management efficiency in enterprises.

The party leadership heard a report on Polish aid for victims of the cataclysm in Armenia. Government representatives reported on undertaken and planned action.

Polish society received with profound emotion news about the tragedy involving hundreds of thousands of people.

The aid operation being carried out by the government and by social and charitable organizations is the result of initiatives by working people, various factories and institutions, various professional associations, trade unions, young people, the church, and other religions.

The Politburo expressed its recognition and appreciation of those who have organized the aid operation and are taking part in it, together with blood donors, donors of gifts, militiamen, soldiers, and volunteer rescue teams.

Members Interviewed on Meeting

LD1412001188 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 13 Dec 88

[Text] Today's Politburo meeting is mainly discussing matters associated with the coming party Central Committee plenum. Before the microphone are participants of the Politburo meeting, Gabriela Rembisz, Zofia Stepień, and Zygmunt Muranski.

[Begin recording] [Rembisz] The theses discussed at the Politburo meeting are like a reply that we will present to members of the Central Committee for discussion. On the other hand these questions arise (?quite simply) in basic party organizations and are set for themselves by every party member. What questions are these? Democracy and centralism, the party in the structures of the non-socialized economy, for instance, the party in state bodies, the party and religion, and I could cite many more examples. These are questions that we set ourselves each day. I feel that in these theses there is contained a proposal for reforms, deep reforms, in the party.

[Muranski] Every party member, in fact every Pole, wonders when things will improve in Poland. If the economy is discussed at the plenum, then the plenum will at least give an approximate reply to precisely this—at the moment probably the most important question for Poland.

[Stepień] Well, I would say, a little contrarily, as the government is to decide about the economy, the party is to support certain activities. And [word indistinct] in any case accepted this. But I do not hide that in these theses there will also be a reply to the question of what is next regarding the economy. We all know, after all, what must be done. As long as it is quicker. People are impatient.

[Muranski] We mark our certain directions, and the government, quite simply, rules.

[Rembisz] We, as the party, must simply support these reforms. This is our supreme task. [end recording]

Plenum Set for December

AU1212131988 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
7 Dec 88 p 1

[PAP report: "The PZPR Central Committee Politburo Met"]

[Text] On 6 December, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo assessed preparations for the 10th Central Committee plenum. It requested amendments and improvements to the materials that had been prepared, and specified the course of further work. It decided that the 10th Plenum would convene on the threshold of the second and final thirds of December.

The Politburo heard a report on the agreements reached by the party-government commission dealing with the draft national economic consolidation plan.

The Politburo acquainted itself with Premier M. F. Rakowski's visits to and talks in Austria and the GDR.

It heard a report on the "RSFSR Days in Poland," which enjoyed a great amount of interest.

OPZZ Vice Chairman on Reform, New Government

LD1312001988 Warsaw PAP in English
2237 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw. Dec. 12—I do not agree that the economic reform has to bring adverse social consequences. After all, the essence of the reform is to improve living standards, to bring progress. Therefore, one must not view inflation, gaping differences in incomes or joblessness as a way to overcome our troubles, Vice-Chairman of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ Wacław Martyniuk said in an interview for the Polish press agency PAP.

And as far as the issue of ownership is concerned we strongly stick to the premise that in Poland there is a three-sector economy. This cannot be questioned. However, we strongly come out against one sector of the economy making headway at the expense of another one.

And, in Poland of today, the socialized sector of the economy operates in worse conditions as compared with the private business economy. This is especially visible in the realm of wages.

Therefore, we are prepared to defend the principle backed by the government: that of equal rights and chances for all economic subjects. And when this principle is really carried into effect, when there are equal principles of granting credits, tax principles and those of economic effectiveness, it will become clear that it is the socialized sector which decides about the economic development and the living standards of the working people, continued Wacław Martyniuk.

We shall also fight for creating an economic system combining virtues of the market and planned economy for until now our economy features only the flaws of the two systems.

So far the government has started with single decisions and has not presented a conception of restructuring the economy and the latter should be done at the outset. Restructuring cannot boil down to closure of work establishments.

As regards our relations with the new government team I can say that although our chief targets and priorities are the same, however, what is of principal importance for the trade unions are deeds not words. I can assure that what matters for us are only concrete decisions, that is detailed items of the plan, the price and income policy for one. And if they are out of tune with the announcements the trade union movement will be neither nice nor easy a partner for we shall always support the interests of the people who we represent.

Economic Committee on State Enterprises' Finances
LD1212222188 Warsaw PAP in English
1947 GMT 12 Dec 88

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—The government Economic Committee KERM met here today under the chairmanship of Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula to approve a draft law on financial economy of state enterprises.

The new regulations, to be effective already in 1989, considerably simplify the enterprises' financial system and form conditions for economic activity based on market principles with full financial independence.

The proposed solutions are based on the formation of a founder's fund in enterprises, an input of state treasury from which dividends would be paid. Income taxes are to be cut and a unified system of taxation for all enterprises introduced.

Also today, KERM discussed proposals dealing with demonopolization of state economy.

Jaruzelski Speech at Unification Fete Reported
AU1912115488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 December pp 1, 2

[Speech by State Council Chairman and PZPR Central Committee first secretary, Wojciech Jaruzelski, at a ceremony held on 15 December at the Warsaw Polytechnic marking the 40th anniversary of the unification of the Polish Workers' Party and Polish Socialist Party into the PZPR]

[Text] Comrades! On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the PZPR we meet in the same hall, in the same city, but in a different and deeply transformed country. When the deliberations of that congress lit-up on the map lights signifying the construction projects planned for the 6-Year Plan the nearby streets of Warsaw were still in ruins and the blind eyes of burnt-out houses were frightening. Poland was healing its war wounds. The pick-axe and the trowel and often just bare hands—this was the main technology with which the work of reconstruction commenced. No one had yet heard of Nowa Huta, of Nowe Tychy, of the Plock petrochemical works. It was a long way to restoring the old cities of Warsaw and Gdansk, to raising Wroclaw and Szczecin from the ruins. The great struggle against illiteracy was just beginning, and also the first mass recruitment of working and peasant youth for higher education was being undertaken. All that has arisen on this land over 4 decades is the achievement of working people, and is a monument to their patriotic effort.

Our party was the leader and organizer of this effort. There are veterans in this hall who brought their experience from the Polish Workers' Party [PPR], and the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]—the general workers' movement—into the ranks of the united party. We express our deep respect for them, for their ideals and courage in the struggle for national and social liberation, for the establishment of people's power, for the erection of the foundations of socialism. There are among us participants of the unification congress—delegates from the PPR and the PPS. I sincerely wish you well, dear comrades! [applause]

I greet all who, during the past 40 years acted in the ranks of our party serving the socialist fatherland with the best will. I direct our common thought toward the fallen and dead comrades who cannot celebrate this anniversary with us. In the party, which wants to be a living and creative party, there continues an incessant relay of generations. The achievements of the elders, their political and living wisdom, is being assumed by those who follow them. The presence among us of a group of the youngest comrades is a symbol of this generational tie. Just today we presented them with their party cards.

Our party changes with society. As it guards its ideological principles, it also opens up to the concerns and opinions of all working people. The representatives of

those non-party milieux of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia which through their knowledge and civil activity support the reforming line of the PZPR, could not therefore be absent from today's meeting. Among them there are participants of the recent National Conference of the Workers' Aktiv, scholars and creators of culture, teachers and journalists, people representing wide circles of the Polish left.

Comrades, we remember today a time in which two currents stemming from a common source but flowing separately for many decades joined into one party, a Polish party, a united party, a party of the workers. Questions are raised whether the unification was necessary, whether it brought the expected results.

The past 40 years give us the necessary perspective for calm assessment. History divides that which is incidental and transient from that which is fundamental and lasting. Its aim is a synthesis of social and individual—in a word, human—experiences.

In assessing the course and the background of the unification it is important to think in the terms of the time, to recreate the climate of the first postwar years. People at the time sincerely believed in the importance and the purposefulness of the unification; it was seen as a momentous act which multiplied the strength of the left. This aim was, in its essence, quite apt. It stemmed from the bitter experiences of defeat and failures of the Polish and international workers' movements.

Division was a source of weakness while cooperation was a source of strength; at turning-points it is what is common to all that takes the upper hand. Arm in arm the warriors of both trends stood on the barricades in 1905. Arm in arm they participated in the drive for independence in 1918 bringing a left-wing influence to the shape of the reborn country. Arm in arm they fought in the days of the people's front against the growing Hitlerite threat. Above all, however, they faced—together—the challenges of a new epoch and created a new national council, the Polish Committee for National Liberation, and the Polish People's Army, thus creating the foundations of a national state, bringing about a social revolution, and rebuilding the country.

Unification was the crowning achievement of the first years of this process and it remains, unchangeably, a condition for its successful continuation. All this came together to create the great drive toward unification; its course, however, contained both positive and negative elements. It was very complex; in many ways it was internally contradictory as was the whole situation at the time. The coalition of antifascist states fell apart; the situation in Europe and in the world became aggravated. A real threat to the peace and security of Poland appeared. At the same time a new wave of Stalinist deformations was growing; a disregard for national traditions and conditions and an artificial acceleration of transformations.

In the summer of 1948, the PPR's turnaround, linked with the condemnation of the allegedly rightist-nationalist deviation, had a highly negative effect on the content and form of the unification process. On the one hand, the PPR concept of a Polish road to socialism and a broader front of democratic forces and on the other, the PPS' attachment to an independent heritage and democratic political culture were called into question. Herein lie the roots of many later errors, distortions, and failures. The Third PZPR Congress repealed all incorrect resolutions concerning the so-called deviation of the PPR. The process of reevaluation of the PPS also began. However, both one and the other were, in many respects, superficial in nature. Also the wrongs done to people of the PPR and the PPS and other people who were innocent victims were rectified after 1956, although not always clearly and consistently enough. We must therefore give them full political and moral justice and close this chapter objectively and honestly.

The policy of socialist renewal laid down and carried out by our party and its synchronization with perestroika in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries furthers and enables us to look for inspiration for what we are doing and what we are changing in historical truth, in our ideological sources, in the needs and expectations of the working class and of the whole Polish society. We want to save and take into the next century all the indisputable values which the Polish worker movement has created in the course of its history, from the great proletariat and the beginning of the PPS and the Social-Democratic party of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, through the interwar struggle of Communists and Socialists, up to the present day. We are selecting and consolidating what served working people and socialist Poland well. There cannot be, then, either absolution of the sectional, dogmatic distortions of the PPR or rehabilitation of the real rightist encumbrances of the PPS. Speaking openly of the weaknesses and errors, we must constantly remember an elementary truth which nothing can undermine. The goals of the system of government—the independence of the state, progress, and social justice; industrialization and urbanization; educational and cultural advances; an internationalist foreign policy—in accord with the nation's interests have been, are, and will remain correct and fruitful.

Studying the history of its predecessors, the PZPR perceives that they were historically right and achieved the greatest successes when they were wide open to program and intellectual searchings; when they had a creative understanding of the essence of Marxism; and when they took up a cause firmly based on the native soil of the homeland.

This history is precious capital and the source of inspiration for the reforming activities of the party, the party which is the same but so very different from its original shape and which transforms the content and forms of its leadership and service. For the last 7 years we have been carrying out profound changes in the social and political

relations and the economy of Poland. We must continue to overcome the mounting internal and external obstacles, to repulse the attacks, to overcome our own weaknesses. We are discussing them, as never before, openly and frankly. This strengthens our moral right to the leadership of the renewal. We are searching for ways of broadening national understanding. There is only one measure: the feeling of responsibility for our country, the good of Poland.

Comrades, our ideas were not born when the PZPR was born, they were born many years before any of our present party members were even born. For these ideas, our countless predecessors went to the Czarist penal colonies, to Bereza and the fortress of Brzesc, to the prisons of the Gestapo. The unification of the Polish Workers' movement was one of the most significant events of our contemporary history. Not hiding the deformations at that time, we are at the same time aware that in this very room, 40 years ago, another enormous step was made in the construction of our socialist fatherland. No building can be built without foundations. Our foundation can and should be made of the achievements of millions of people who are bound to the workers' and socialist ideals. The unification of the Polish workers' movement was a significant step on this path. The wishes of the present and future generations—that is, the duty of the PZPR and its political allies—is for this path, common for the whole nation, to be wise, clean, and effective and to lead unfailingly toward the prosperity of Poland. [applause]

Orzechowski Interviewed on Socialism
AU1512183788 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish
30 Nov 88 p 1, 3, 4

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by ZYCIE PARTII journalists Mirosława Machura and Jozef Grabowicz: "We Are Creating Socialism at Our Own Risk"—date and place not given]

[Text] Journalists: In the present political life of our country, and in the face of the new challenges, there is an urgent need for a new model on which the PZPR can base itself in order to fulfill its leading role in society and the state, and its role of service toward the people and workers class. How can one describe the new concept in a nutshell?

Marian Orzechowski: First, let us answer this question: What kind of party model do we have right now? I think it is something in between the model that was established in the 1940's and 1950's, and the future model toward which we should aspire. Let us remember that in the beginning, the party was very centralized and affected the whole life of the country not so much by its influence as by its direct decisions. Right now, the party is becoming more and more of a political force in which the ideological bond is the most important one and the organizational bond is only secondary.

Speaking about the new party model, one should stress the fact that the party does not base its position in society on constitutional features or history. It bases its right to exercise a leading role on society's confidence, which is renewed every time. That means that the party acts in the conviction that confidence is not a gift that is given once and for all; it is something that has to be fought for all time.

As Janos Kadar said, one has to act as if there were 20 opposition parties competing with us for power, influence, and confidence. In other words, we must act as if there were to be a political plebiscite tomorrow. That is what the party should do in order to become a completely new type of party. It involves faith in one's identity and one's roots, and a need to meet the challenge of the 21st century.

Journalists: How does excessive centralism manifest itself in the party?

Marian Orzechowski: Excessive centralism is manifested, on the one hand, by a lack of faith in one's ability to act independently and by the party center's regular issuing of orders and instructions and imposing various tasks; and, on the other hand, by the habit of waiting for these instructions.

Many party people object to the party model so far and are in favor of a new concept of a democratic party, but they still wait for guidelines on how to act. They even accuse the Politburo and Central Committee of failing to provide these guidelines. This is where I perceive the greatest evidence of centralism: in cases where a party committee feels helpless without instructions from "above." Yet it is the party's program and congress resolutions that really define the path of our action.

Journalists: However, the party is also an action community. In that case, will the process of changes in the party not weaken this function?

Marian Orzechowski: People rally around specific ideals in order to act. Therefore, this is a community of ideals, people, and action at the same time. Without an ideal and without a set goal, any activity ceases to be effective. An ideal can only develop during dialogue, during an encounter between various opinions, because joint action calls for a certain amount of discipline, subordination to one generally agreed-upon plan. Therefore, action can only be effective if there is a certain minimum of centralism. The problem is to keep centralism to the proper proportions.

Journalists: You have said that there is a need to remodel the party thoroughly, but you also said that the PZPR must have enough courage to perform self-limitation; in other words, the party must abandon many things in order to solve others more effectively. In what areas should the party self-limit, and where should it consolidate its presence?

Marian Orzechowski: What I meant was this. Being the leading force in society, the party feels responsible for the affairs of the nation and state. Therefore, everything that is fundamental to the present and future must be a target of party interest. There is no sphere which the party can completely abandon and say that it is not interested in it.

Another problem is self-limitation, which concerns the scope of party interest in various matters. For example, can the party cease to be interested in the economy? It cannot, because the fate of every political system hinges upon the economy. Can one talk about social justice, equal chances, and social security when one stops being interested in the economy? Although the party is not withdrawing from the economy, it is nevertheless restricting its scope of action in it, in compliance with the economic reform. For example, it will no longer interfere in economic management processes directly. The party also cannot say that it is not interested in cultural activity, because the ethical and ideological values of culture cannot be a subject of indifference to the party. However, the party's involvement in culture is also changing. It no longer interferes in organizational matters concerning culture, but is purely a patron and a sponsor of culture, acting through the medium of party people in the world of culture.

When I speak of self-limitation, I use as a point of departure the fact that the party used to manage and administer directly, as if it were an office. Central Committee departments were organized in such a way that they were not much different from ministries. Sometimes, as many as three or four different bodies would examine the same matter at the same time—a party body, a government body, and a parliamentary body. Sometimes there was even an extra body, a trade union body.

Journalists: That means that they all reached different decisions...

Marian Orzechowski: That did happen, but such decisions were merely formal ones. Everyone knew that the main decision had to be made at the appropriate party level, and all the other decisions were a mere formality. That is how I construe the entire process of party self-limitation. The 10th Central Committee plenum will probably provide a new concept of party political leadership.

Journalists: Here we are dealing with a problem that has not appeared in Poland the first time today, in other words the dividing line between party activity and government activity. How can one describe this line?

Marian Orzechowski: This dividing line has to be drawn for at least two reasons: because of effective action, and because of a particular strategy. Effective action by every institution only exists when they avail themselves of a certain amount of authority, independence, and initiative.

What should be the party's place in this framework? The party establishes priorities that are binding upon party members in the government. It does this on the basis of the decisions of its highest bodies. In the Sejm, it does so through the medium of the Sejm deputies who belong to the party. At the same time, the government must retain full freedom to choose the best ways of implementing these priorities, because the government is accountable for the results of its work.

Thus, the party's chief method of political leadership involves establishing objectives and tasks, but not the ways of achieving them. Otherwise, the party would be interfering in the process of administration. However, it is the party's responsibility to control the effectiveness of this implementation. I think that in this sphere, too, the 10th plenum will bring concrete decisions.

Journalists: Today, party training and educational work is meant to provide basic knowledge of Marxism-Leninism more than ever before, but this function is now meant to be performed by the party's entire intellectual movement. We make no secret of the fact that the rapid changes in our political life have also made a part of the party activists confused and disoriented. So what do you mean by the "minimum political order" that you mentioned in your speech at the central inauguration of the new party academic year?

Marian Orzechowski: Above all, I mean that we should abandon the expression "training work," because training always consists of an element that does the teaching, and an element that is taught. My idea is to have party education that is not divided into teachers and those who are taught, because party education should be based on mutual discussion and an exchange of experiences. After all, a worker attending a training session will convey his knowledge to a scholar whom he happens to meet. Apart from conveying knowledge and experience, party education should provide answers to possible questions about why we are doing a particular thing this way instead of that way, where we are heading, and what the purpose of our work is. In other words, party education should equip party members with arguments, so that they can hold discussions and polemicize with others, including nonparty people.

This is of particular importance today, when there are so many questions, doubts, and disputes, and this is understandable. There is no need to dramatize the situation. After all, we are presently faced with historic problems; a new face of socialism is emerging. We are more aware of what we do not want, what is out of date, and what can never be used again. We also realize that there are people inside and outside the party who long for a return to the past. Some long for a return to August 1980, and others long for the situation before 13 December 1981.

Against this background, it is much more difficult to say what the future shape of socialism will be.

During this breakthrough period, everyone would like to have a signpost. Some old signposts have been thrown down, or at least twisted, so that they no longer indicate the correct road to take. However, new signposts have not been completely designed yet. I imagine that this certain minimum political order should be established as a result of our entire party's total experience, knowledge, and intelligence.

Journalists: So what is the most important thing here?

Marian Orzechowski: First, we have to admit that socialism continues to be our goal. The ideals that gave rise to this workers movement in the 19th century provided the conditions for the emergence of socialism in Poland, and were adopted by us have not lost their validity. Of course, people's image of socialism is changing. Today they think it is more rational, effective, and economically efficient.

Second, the values of socialism, including the basic values of humanitarianism, freedom, social justice, and social security, remain unchanged, although they may be interpreted in various ways. All these values have to be given a modern interpretation. That is important, because social justice may be taken to mean that everyone should receive the same in life, and that would be an injustice. Under today's economic conditions, the basis of justice is provided by work and its results. There should be no other gauge. At the same time, social justice is the concern of the state, which should see to it that anyone who cannot work through no fault of his own should be guaranteed a minimum level of social security.

Third, we must establish the necessary conditions in which to implement the tasks and objectives of the socialist system. How? The essential conditions are the socialization of the factors of production, democratic people's rule, and the leading role of the party and workers class as a political force that expresses the ideals of socialism in the fullest possible way. In our conditions, and on account of our ideological and political situation, national security is a further essential condition. This involves our entire alliance and our place within it and relationships with its other members.

Finally, we have to admit that the paths leading to the attainment of these objectives are not static. They are subject to change. Here it should be noted that it is not strategy that causes the greatest amount of doubts among party members, but tactics. Tactics have to be adapted to current conditions, for example the roundtable, the economic reform, pluralism, and the opposition (especially the constructive opposition) and its place in our political system. These are not strategic questions, they are tactical ones.

Another important part of the ideological order is the fact that we are building socialism with Polish colors. This is particularly important today, because real socialism is something tangible, not something abstract. Of

course, our system possesses certain features that make it plain that it is socialism, whereas other systems might not be socialism. Nevertheless, socialism is always formed under certain unrepeatable national conditions. This is of singular significance today, at a time of restructuring in the Soviet Union and other changes in the socialist world. We in Poland are forming socialism at our own cost and risk. No one will exonerate us from our mistakes, no one will repair them for us, and we will not be able to blame anyone if things go wrong.

Journalists: However, we have to induce other political and social forces to share responsibility with us.

Marian Orzechowski: The minimum social order also takes into account the fact that socialism cannot be built by party members and the workers class alone. Socialism must be the joint work of the majority of the people. Therefore, socialism must be constructed in such a way that it wins the confidence of most of society, even people who generally agree with socialism but not with some particular methods and solutions proposed by the party and its allies. This is also a basis for reaching accord with that part of the opposition that supports the Constitution but views many matters differently from us.

In my opinion, these are all the features that constitute a minimum political order. The 10th plenum, which will bear the slogan "The party at a time of change; change in the party," will certainly provide a clearer definition. Answers to more complicated issues should be provided by the Third National Theoretical-Ideological Conference in the middle of January.

Journalists: What do you expect of this conference as far as new challenges and solutions are concerned?

Marian Orzechowski: This conference is neither beginning nor ending the search for and discussions on the subject of a new shape of socialism and a new party model. This is a process that has been taking place for a long time, and will probably go on forever. The point is that the conference should tidy up as many issues as possible, and liven up the party intellectually.

It seems that the conference should provide an ideological framework to our doubts and questions, after which it should attempt to answer at least some of them.

The first group of questions involves the system of ownership. In which direction should the socialization of ownership proceed? What does the predominance of state ownership mean? What are the limits to the development of the private sector and the process of privatization? The main problem is management efficiency and social justice.

A second group of questions involves political pluralism. How should a difference in views and interests be reflected in social life? What are the limits to this difference?

Journalists: The point is that pluralism should lead to integration, not disintegration.

Marian Orzechowski: We happen to be in the middle of a search for ways of making not only a pluralism of views, but a pluralism of politics, interests, actions, and political institutions an integrating factor of society and a platform of consensus.

The third group of problems involves the party. For me, the party is a basic topic in any discussion on socialism. I do not think, and history proves this, that any system cannot be built without an integrating factor that lays down the paths of political development. In modern societies, such a role is always fulfilled by a party, which is really the foundation for everything. Therefore, if anyone wants to undermine the system, he is striking chiefly against the party.

Journalists: At a time of implementation of reforms and renewal and a struggle for accord, the party has to give itself a clearer identity and consolidate its ideological and political-organizational condition. What do you think is the most important thing today in order to define this identity and consolidate this condition?

Marian Orzechowski: I could answer quite simply that its Marxist-Leninist, internationalist workers' identity is the most important quality, which is true.

However, what I consider to be the chief determinant of the party's identity today is its image as a party of change and social progress. After all, a considerable number of people, especially young people, fail to see our party as a driving force behind changes and as a force that indicates objectives and builds up the energy to carry them out.

Therefore we must have a party of change and social progress, a party that is geared to the future, to the 21st century, and to the economic, political, cultural, and social challenges of the times—a party of socialist renewal, a party of modern, open socialism.

That is why party affairs and the party's fulfillment of its role in society and the state will be the leading topic at the ideological conference. Apart from providing a more political and practical approach to the party's role in the reforms, the 10th Central Committee plenum will also address many questions to this conference, and not just theoretical ones. I think it is a very good idea for the highest inter-congress party forum to ask its intellectuals concrete questions, to which it requires answers as a basis for political decisions. After all, it is not the plenum's task to resolve theoretical matters, but to reach rational decisions that require certain knowledge, including a knowledge of theory.

Journalists: By definition, the PZPR is a workers party, but at the same time it is said that the party professes the interests of the people. Is there no contradiction between these two features?

Marian Orzechowski: I do not see any. The party represents the historic and future interests of the workers class, which include the building of socialism and social justice, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation and bondage. In this sense, it professes not only its own interests, but also those of all society. However, at the same time, the workers class and its party are gathering all progressive, leftwing, and patriotic forces in the fulfillment of these interests. I think that socialism in the way we have described it suits the interests of the people.

On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the PZPR, in other words, the unification of the Polish workers movement, I wish to point out that when we talk about the party of the workers class and people, we also have in mind the party's attitude toward its own past. The party considers every single workers movement in Poland in the past as a way of seeking the best ways of implementing the objectives and principles of socialism.

Journalists: Thank you for the interview.

Olesiak Views Agricultural Problems
PM1312113288 Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI
in Polish 25 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with Kazimierz Olesiak, deputy premier and minister of agriculture, forestry, and food economy, by Marek Kluczek; date and place not given]

[Text] [Kluczek] Among other concerns, premier Rakowski's government has accorded priority status to agriculture and food economy. The first decisions affecting this sector of our economy have already been made. They will end state monopoly on contract purchases and increase prices of agricultural produce. Why have these areas been chosen first?

[Olesiak] Our main concern is to abolish all administrative and financial barriers hampering the initiative shown by the people. That is our first consideration. Next, we want to create a normal food market. If we are to succeed, we must stimulate the activity of the producers of its raw material, that is, our farmers, but we must also encourage those who would like to go into food processing. Only when this has been done can we expect to see any marked improvement in the supply to our food market.

To begin with we will probably first notice an improvement in the free market, which in turn should affect the quantity and quality of products in the socialized commercial sector. To give you an example, we are not going to abolish meat rationing as of 1 January next year. Instead, we will introduce regulations which will allow livestock meat to be processed for the market by anyone

willing and able to do so. Private producers will even be allowed to provide meat products in this way for the rationing system at the local level, for example in individual parishes. In this way transportation problems will be avoided and the products processed and sold locally will be cheaper and probably better. Large meat processing plants will supply meat to urban complexes.

We hope that active involvement of farmers on the one hand and processed food manufacturers on the other will increase free sales of meat and meat products enough to bring free market prices into line with official prices. We would then be able to propose a scheme for opting out of meat rationing rather than having it abolished compulsorily. We would offer each citizen the right to opt out of the meat rationing system and return his meat coupons with the assurance that he would receive compensation for any difference in prices. This would of course only be possible with the market in a much better condition than at present. Its improvement would have to be based first and foremost on abolishing state monopoly.

[Kluczek] What is the role of the new contract purchase prices?

[Olesiak] There are several reasons why they have been changed. The main one is that we want to stem the fall in livestock production and bring about its acceleration. That is why the new price lists are most favorable in the cases of livestock and milk. This is an essential move in our retreat from the monopoly system. After all, this will be absolutely impossible without increased deliveries from individual producers. Thus, both reasons are closely interconnected.

In the case of livestock production the important factors are not only contract purchase prices but also a definite improvement in the availability of agricultural machinery, equipment, and chemicals, as well as development of the processing industry and storage facilities. These questions are reflected both in the Central Annual Plan for 1989 and in the National Socioeconomic Plan for the next few years.

[Kluczek] Let us go back to the issue of demonopolization. How can you be confident that its motives will be correctly understood at parish and voivodship level and that heads of local authorities will promptly begin to issue licences to run private bakeries or butcher's shops?

[Olesiak] Well, I try to convince everyone that we at the top cannot do anything on our own. The important thing is what happens at the lower levels. We have told the voivodas that they must already start looking for people who could start private contract purchase and food processing businesses in the given voivodship or parish as of 1 January next year. So the success of the whole scheme depends on the efficiency and enterprise of all the institutions active in the rural areas: parish cooperatives, agricultural circles, and many others whose role is to provide a good all-around service for the farmers.

The government, in turn, must provide uniform, favorable economic and legal conditions for all those institutions. We have, for example, received the following inquiry: Would farmers selling their produce to non-socialized contractors receive smaller pensions? Today a farmer's pension contribution is calculated on the basis of the volume of agricultural produce supplied by the farmer to the contract sales center. As of 1 January this will have to be supplemented by the value of produce sold by the farmer outside the socialized contract sales network. Therefore the relevant regulations will have to be changed.

In any case, the sooner we take steps to exploit the human initiative at the lower levels, the quicker the departure from the monopoly system will fulfill all the expectations vested in it. There is no point in awaiting instructions from Warsaw: There will be none.

[Kluczek] But will official prices for food products not limit the extent of that low-level initiative? After all, food processing is an unprofitable industry, so who would be willing to take up such unpromising business?

[Olesiak] There will be new subsidies. They will be granted according to a different system and their levels will also be different. The idea is to tie the given subsidy to a given quantity of a given product and make them subject to production costs. Subsidies must reinforce efficient production.

[Kluczek] The decision to increase contract purchase prices for agricultural produce while freezing retail food prices is bound to arouse controversy. On the face of it, everything is fine because our pocket-books are protected against the effects of the increase. But this means that subsidies will rise, whereas we ought to curtail them.

[Olesiak] As regards the curtailing of subsidies, we all agree with it—both I and other government members. However, we must not lose sight of realities, of situations resulting from policies pursued over very many years in the past. This is why the present increase of contract purchase prices is not directly tied to an increase in retail food prices. But since we want to—indeed, must—place our economy on a normal path of economic development, we also should tackle that other side of it: retail price lists. Leaving the situation to continue as it is now will not benefit us at all.

Obviously, we will not get rid of subsidies right away because they are too vast. To give you an example, subsidies cover some 90 percent of the costs of milk production in Poland. So what is the solution? Through demonopolization we should gradually change the price situation so that official prices and free market prices come close together and, furthermore, we should offer certain social groups the opportunity to purchase staple food products at lower prices. We can see no other solution.

[Kluczek] But where are we going to find the money for the planned interim increase in subsidies?

[Olesiak] This question should be answered by the finance minister. The money will be provided because the decision has been made, albeit only after a long debate.

We decided that since we were going to back the agriculture and food management sector the government's major priority would be to implement those political resolutions which obliged it to reduce the disparity between farmers' and urban dwellers' incomes by the end of the year. We want to achieve this, despite budgetary difficulties. I will not deny that we have great expectations of increased production in connection with the new price increases. In its turn, the increase in contract deliveries of agricultural produce should allow us to avoid spending hard currencies on importing food products. Thus the decision to increase contract purchase prices was a political, economic, and social move.

[Kluczek] There is talk of the emergence of a new agricultural lobby. Is this enough to oblige the government to meet its promise of according preferential status to the agricultural sector?

[Olesiak] There is no such lobby. And as regards the promise given to farmers, now is the last chance to fulfill that promise. There are not so many tasks with priority status: only four. So we can afford to turn words into deeds and to find the resources necessary to fulfill that promise even given our present, general budgetary strictures.

It is high time for us all to realize that, however we look at things, everything starts with our dinner plates. Whatever the shape of the debating table, be it square or round, we will find it easier to discuss our problems at it if we first provide enough food for our dinner tables. In past years our agriculture actually managed to provide for us quite well despite the fact that supplies and services to agriculture remained well below the amounts

promised in various plans and resolutions. But then agriculture—as no other sector—contains capabilities that can be utilized relatively quickly for the good of the whole economy.

I am a moderate optimist. In the new government I am not the only person who understands the problems of our agriculture. Premier Rakowski understands them, too, as do our colleagues on the Council of Ministers Economic Committee and those responsible for other sectors of the economy. This gives us a high chance that many current problems may be satisfactorily resolved—such as, for instance, the question of providing adequate technical and chemical supplies to agriculture, these two areas being the most neglected at present.

[Kluczek] We have long heard arguments about the external influences affecting our agriculture. There are, however, dangers inherent in agriculture itself.

[Olesiak] I have already mentioned unfavorable tendencies in animal production, but that is not all. In regions where the soil is poor and economic and technical conditions of agricultural production remain difficult, young people are not interested in staying on the land and continuing as farmers. Land is ceasing to be cultivated—and this tendency is evident not only in our easternmost voivodships. We will attempt to bring those areas into cultivation again by introducing a whole system of undertakings described as regionalization of the agrarian policy. The idea is not only to provide economic and technical backing for agriculture in those areas but also to build up an infrastructure and to improve social welfare conditions. We must not allow the existing areas of no-man's-land to increase.

On the other hand, the evident revitalization of the farming communities is a phenomenon which fills us with new hope. Farmers are keenly interested in the government's new decisions. Those people want to work simply because the economic system obtaining in agriculture is quite unequivocal. All we must do is to see to these two things: profitability and supplies of agricultural means of production.

Ceausescu Delivers Speech to Agriculture Plenum
AU1912141988 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
17 Dec 88 pp 1, 3

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Speech," at the concluding session of the enlarged plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture, and Water Management on 16 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: The plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture and other sectors of activity examined in detail this year's results and the targets of the 1989 plan and programs, with a view toward developing agricultural production, food industry, forestry, and water management and increasing the contribution of these sectors to the overall development of our socialist fatherland, to the growth of the material and intellectual well-being of all our people, and to the unswerving implementation of the party program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and ensuring Romania's progress toward communism. (Loud and prolonged applause)

The broad discussions conducted in the last 2 days, the critical and self-critical analysis of our activity to date, the proposals and commitments made, and the fact that more than 320 participants took the floor during the proceedings of the National Council for Agriculture prove the broadly democratic character of the discussions held and the serious approach to problems facing these sectors.

I believe that, on the basis of these broad discussions, we must draw all necessary conclusions and lessons in order to improve the entire activity and unflinchingly fulfill our most important targets, for the overall development of our fatherland, for the expansion of Romanian agriculture, and for the implementation of the new agrarian revolution. (Loud and prolonged applause)

In the analysis of the current development stage of our socialist society, which I made at the recent joint session of the RCP Central Committee and other democratic bodies, I referred to the current situation of the Romanian socialist agriculture. Indeed, agriculture, which is the second basic branch of our national economy, has developed strongly in the years of socialism, as have the forces of production, industry, and other fields of activity.

We must emphasize that since the Ninth RCP Congress we have ensured a better understanding of and have reinforced, so to speak, the truth about the important role played by agriculture in the development of the Romanian economy. We put an end to a certain underrating of the agricultural sector, proceeding from the overall thesis that industry should play a decisive role in the development of the national economy, without neglecting or underrating the role of agriculture in any

way, since one cannot talk of a balanced national economic development and the construction of socialism and communism without agriculture. (Loud and prolonged applause)

We must properly realize that it is necessary to ensure a uniform development of industry and agriculture, as well as of all branches and sectors of activity—and that any lag in a given sector, particularly in these two decisive sectors, will have a negative impact on the entire development of our fatherland. Unfortunately, I say it again, this has been the case during a certain period of the socialist construction in our country.

We should always proceed from the fact that one cannot achieve industrialization on the basis of the latest scientific achievements without ensuring the continuous progress of agriculture, as one of the key branches of the Romanian economy. Likewise one should always bear in mind that agricultural progress and development cannot be achieved without a strong industry, which can ensure the necessary mechanization means as well as the country's overall development, the commendable utilization of manpower, and the growth of the level of civilization of the Romanian socialist society.

Therefore, the dialectical unity between the development of industry, agriculture, and other branches is the decisive element of successfully building socialism, raising the people's material and intellectual well-being, and building the communist society in Romania! (Loud and prolonged applause)

To this, one should always add the important role of science, education, and culture as basic elements of our country's development and socialist construction—hence the need to base the entire activity in all spheres on the latest achievements of science, technology, the new agrarian revolution, the highest culture, and overall human knowledge. Only by basing the fatherland's development and socialist construction on the latest achievements of science and culture and by continuously raising our revolutionary awareness will we be able to ensure our firm march forward, the victory of socialism and communism in Romania, the independence and sovereignty of our fatherland, and the well-being of the whole nation! (Loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!")

Life, the supreme judge of all activities, has fully proved the correctness of our party's overall policy of creatively applying the objective laws and the principles of scientific socialism to realities and conditions prevailing in our fatherland. It has clearly proved the correctness of the thesis formulated as far back as the Ninth RCP Congress: that socialism is being built under circumstances that differ from one country to another and one stage to another, and that the Communist Party, as the leading political force, has the historical mission of

interpreting these laws—as well as our country's realities—and applying them accordingly. The achievements obtained in our overall development, including the agricultural sector, show the correctness of this policy and road. (Loud applause)

A number of achievements were mentioned here. At the democratic forum in late November, I talked about the fact that the state and cooperative socialist agriculture is the decisive factor for obtaining good crops in all fields, further increasing agricultural yields, and implementing the new agrarian revolution. The overall results, including those in agriculture, scored in the years of socialism, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, show that only on the basis of the large state and cooperative socialist ownership can we achieve a modern and advanced agriculture which can fully meet our people's requirements, promote well-being, and increase the contribution of agriculture to Romania's overall progress. (Loud and prolonged applause)

The programmatic theses and conclusions of last November's great democratic forum, which lie at the basis of the entire activity of socialist and communist construction, must also become a basic guideline for the working people in villages and for the entire agricultural sector in the overall efforts to further improve and better organize the entire activity and to raise our agriculture to an ever higher level. The implementation of the requirements of the new agrarian revolution does not only imply the achievement of ever better crops, but also presupposes: the growth of the revolutionary awareness of the peasantry and of all those active in agriculture; the shaping of a peasantry with a high revolutionary consciousness and a high material and cultural living standard; drawing closer the working and living conditions in villages to those in towns; and creating conditions for the attainment of the united society of working people who can build, in a spirit of full unity, the communist society in Romania! (Prolonged cheers and applause; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu and the people!" and "Our esteem and pride—Ceausescu—Romania!")

Esteemed comrades, we are now at the end of the third year of the 1986-90 5-year plan. Generally speaking, we have good results, although, as I have already said, they are not up to the stipulated plan provisions.

As far as agriculture is concerned, we have also obtained a number of important results in increasing agricultural production, although I must also emphasize that we have failed to fully achieve the planned provisions in this sphere. It is true that for the third consecutive year we have obtained a grain production of over 30 million tonnes this year. More than 250 state and cooperative agricultural units obtained record yields of more than 8,000 kg wheat and barley and more than 20,000 kg corn cobs per hectare. Large yields were obtained by various units in other crops and in the livestock sector. Were one to take into account the overall figures, one may come to the conclusion that we can be satisfied with what we

have achieved. However, we would be wrong to do that! We must openly say—as a matter of fact, some of the comrades who took the floor during the discussions did say it—that we cannot be fully satisfied with our results. They are not up to the possibilities of our socialist agriculture!

As a matter of fact, when we talk about 250 units with good results out of a total number of some 3,000 units we can see that their percentage is pretty small. It is true that we have a large number of agricultural units which, although they failed to obtain crops that would have qualified them for the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution," have nevertheless scored good results. Unfortunately, we also have a large number, not merely a few, of state and cooperative agriculture units with poor and even very poor results. We have entire counties with poor results.

I emphasize this aspect because it is necessary to properly understand that we must eliminate this state of affairs and ensure that all units and counties attain a minimum level of production, as stipulated by the plan. Without this, we cannot say that we have scored good results!

There are still many shortcomings. The causes for this state of affairs cannot be blamed on weather conditions alone, although the weather has had and will always have a say in this matter. However, it is the task of people employed in agriculture to elaborate such technologies and work in such a way as to overcome the obstacles raised by unfavorable weather conditions and obtain good crops. This was shown by the units with good results.

If you will examine, each one in his own county, the activity of units with very good results—9,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare, 29,000 kg corn cobs per hectare, 4,000 kg sunflower per hectare, and 4,000 kg soybean per hectare—and the activity of some neighboring units, with the same weather conditions, but with results that are inferior several times over, you will reach the conclusion that it is not the climate or the weather conditions that are to be blamed, but rather the people and the way in which agricultural experts, cooperative farmers, or the employees of state agricultural enterprises performed their duties designed to ensure large yields.

All of you heard here about milk outputs of more than 5,000, 5,500 liters. However, aside from the cooperative farms or state agricultural enterprises whose representatives talked here about such good results, there are units with outputs that are several times lower. What is more, the average production level of the counties with units boasting such good results is less than 50 percent of the output of these units.

I want to stress this aspect because it is high time to realize that nobody can and should invoke weather conditions as a justification for poor results. As a matter

of fact, we are faced with a situation that we all have to completely eliminate—beginning with the Ministry of Agriculture and other central bodies down to the basic units. There are some people who—instead of thinking and taking steps to solve problems that arise in the practical activity and instead of striving to harvest an ever better crop—just fabricate and do all kinds of paperwork, so as to have ready justifications at the end of a given month or year, that is hundreds of pages which supposedly show why they failed to obtain appropriate results. Is this why we need clerks, chief engineers, and engineers, beginning with the ministers down to the lower echelons? So that they can write up all kinds of documentation and papers? We need them to harvest the crop, not to collect paperwork! We must do away with these justification papers! (loud and prolonged applause) No amount of paperwork—I mention this because people really come with huge stacks of paper—can feed anyone. On the contrary, it actually does damage, as it wastes both paper and time. (loud applause)

It must be properly understood that the role of the working people in the state and cooperative agriculture and of all those active in this field—as in all other fields—is not to search for justifications for failure to fulfill their planned outputs, but rather to think and act to fulfill their production targets!

There is no agricultural sector, in any county, where one cannot obtain good crops if one works properly. We must eliminate the erroneous concept that there are areas which cannot yield large crops. There is no county where we cannot obtain 8,000 kg wheat per hectare if we work well! There is no county where we cannot obtain more than 20,000 kg corn per hectare! All that is required is good organization and the observance and implementation of scientific-technological achievements. Only thus will we eliminate negative states of affairs and bring about, as of next year, a radical change in the current situation prevailing in our agriculture. We must necessarily do this!

It is necessary to point out that the people's councils are also to be blamed for this negative state of affairs. In accordance with the country's laws, they are directly responsible for the work done and the fulfillment of all planned agricultural outputs, regardless of the form of ownership. Of course, one should also point out the responsibility borne by party county committees and by party bodies and organizations in communal and town units, because, when one talks about the party's leading role in agriculture, one should always set out from the outputs achieved in that branch. There is no doubt that, in the units with the good results mentioned at this plenary session, the respective party organizations have done a good job; however, if the overall county results are unsatisfactory, then it means that the respective party organizations and the county committee itself have done a poor job.

To implement the party's leading role in agriculture means to implement the targets of the new agrarian revolution; it also means to achieve good crops in all counties and sectors of activity! Only thus will the party be able to fulfill its mission! (loud and prolonged applause)

I want to emphasize once more that we should draw all necessary lessons from our good results; we have many good things, which we should strive to generally introduce in all units, throughout the country. At the same time, we should also draw appropriate lessons from our shortcomings, so to avoid their repetition. The best self-criticism is to commendably fulfill the plans and programs in all sectors of activity. This will show that we have drawn all necessary conclusions and that whatever self-criticism we make is real, not merely formal!

While pointing out all these negative states of affairs and the fact that we cannot be fully satisfied with this year's results in agriculture, I do not wish to diminish in any way the great achievements obtained. Our grain production of 30 million tonnes proves the strength and capability of our socialist agriculture. At the same time, the large crops I referred to before also show what important reserves our agriculture still has, and we must draw all appropriate conclusions and lessons from this!

Since we are close to the end of the year, I would like to extend warmest congratulations to the cooperative farmers, the entire peasantry, and all working people in agriculture and other sectors for the results scored in all agricultural and food industry sectors and in other units; I wish them to do all they can to obtain ever better crops next year! (loud applause and cheers; prolonged chants: "Ceausescu - RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the People!")

Esteemed Comrades, you are familiar with our special plans and programs for agriculture and other sectors in 1989. As a matter of fact, they were the main topic here and, at the end of the discussions, you adopted them unanimously. It is now necessary to resolutely proceed to their implementation. First of all, we must proceed from the fact that in 1989 we should obtain the largest output so far of grain and other crops.

During the plenary session and in the proceedings in sections, the speakers referred in detail to the fact that the fall operations were performed commendably. They examined various steps to prepare the spring campaign and pointed out that we have everything we need to expediently carry out all work and obtain large crops.

First of all, I deem it necessary to draw attention to the need to rationally use the land stock. Proceeding from the fact that the land is the asset of the whole nation, we should do all we can to ensure that it is tilled and used commendably, so as to obtain ever larger crops. There should be no square meter of arable and agricultural land that is not tilled and that does not yield large outputs! In

silviculture, there should be no areas without afforestation and proper maintenance. There should be no unused marches and waterways left; all should be used for ensuring drinking water and breeding fish.

We should put full order in all units and counties regarding the use of the arable land and of the overall agricultural area. It is necessary to revise and put order in communal agricultural records, which should account for and ensure the rational use of the land, as has always been the case in our country!

We must take resolute steps to implement the programs on raising soil fertility and on implementing and properly utilizing irrigation facilities, land improvement programs, and other operations designed to increase the productive potential of the land. In executing all these operations, we should always bear in mind the need to preserve and protect the environment, to ensure ever better conditions both for people and for animals and plants, and to prevent and eliminate anything that can damage the land—I am talking about the excessive and exaggerated use of various chemical and toxic ingredients which can damage the land and can have a negative impact on people and livestock alike. All efforts to increase the productive potential of the land must set out from the concern with protecting and improving the environment, as a prerequisite for both raising the productive potential of the land and for improving the people's life! the people's life!

Likewise, it is necessary—and high time—to conclude the organization of state and cooperative agricultural units and to organize farms in accordance with established norms and with the program on scientifically organizing agricultural activities. I deem it necessary to emphasize all this because the creation of appropriate conditions for fulfilling the planned outputs in each county and unit depends on the fulfillment of all these tasks.

The grain production should remain the main target of all units, counties, and agricultural bodies, beginning with the National Council for Agriculture. As I have already said, next year we must obtain a minimum of 35 million tonnes of grain and in the 1991-95 5-Year Plan, 45 million tonnes. This will commendably meet all our society's requirements, will lay the basis for good development of the livestock sector, and will also ensure the necessary grain reserves for other activities. You know what has to be done to achieve all this. However, we must realize that, next year, no unit should score results below planned targets!

I would like to repeat what I have said before, namely that there is no county or unit which cannot obtain the same kind of yields as those obtained by good functioning units. Next year we should have a much larger number of units with grain outputs that will warrant them the title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution." However, we should also have whole counties with

such outputs. As a matter of fact, each county candidates for this title, hence everybody should plan and take steps, as of this year, to reach this goal! We must radically improve, the output of industrial plants; the least we can do is to fulfill the plan provisions for sunflower, soybeans, beet, crown and fiber flax, hemp, and other cultures where appropriate conditions exist.

Each state agricultural enterprise and each cooperative farm must take appropriate steps to achieve the minimum planned outputs. This is also valid for gardening, vegetable growing, and the production of grapes and fruit. We must necessarily obtain outputs that can fully satisfy the people's supply requirements and other needs.

Particular attention should be paid to implementing livestock programs for cattle, sheep, pigs, and poultry as well as the programs on improving breeds and increasing the animal production. We cannot be at all satisfied with this year's results in zootechny, particularly with regard to the animal production. Of course, we also have units with good results in this sector, but it is high time and absolutely necessary, to revise the situation in each unit. We should work out special programs to ensure an overall improvement in the livestock sector next year.

We must ensure the necessary fodder base and the rational use of pastures and hayfields, in accordance with established measures.

Likewise, most resolute steps should be taken to instill order and discipline in the activity of state agricultural enterprises. We should no longer have state agricultural units which failed to fulfill their established plans and profits. We should immediately work out programs and measures to instill order and discipline into this field, as of the start of next year, and to raise the activity level in state agricultural enterprises, in accordance with the newly created conditions. We should improve the activity of agricultural production cooperatives and take steps to ensure that, as of next year, there will be no cooperative farm with small outputs and no cooperative farm which has not achieved at least its planned output.

The increase in the incomes of cooperative members and cooperative farms is closely linked to production; hence, we should do all we can to ensure that each agricultural cooperative can score results that allow it to earn appropriate revenues for its members and, of course, to appropriately deliver products to the state stocks.

It is necessary to improve the activity of agricultural mechanization stations. Let us firmly apply legal provisions, so as to ensure that all the incomes of these stations are closely connected with the results of the units they service. We should no longer have mechanization stations without profits! We will assess the activity of each agricultural mechanization station in accordance with the outputs obtained by the units they

service; this also means that the revenues paid to all mechanizers and to the management of the respective stations will also depend on these outputs.

We should make more order and ensure that the activity of joint agroindustrial councils is in accordance with their tasks of coordinating and performing work within the boundaries of these councils. Beginning with the council chairman, engineers, and other experts, the employees should be paid only in accordance with their production results; their work should be assessed in close correlation with the way in which the agricultural cooperative farms, the state agricultural enterprises, and the entire agriculture have obtained appropriate results.

We must ensure that the joint agroindustrial councils truly play an active role in the proper organization of production, in the cooperation between units, in the application of scientific results, and in the general implementation of the targets of the new agrarian revolution.

In this framework, I wish to briefly point out the need to further increase the role of the Agricultural Academy and of research institutes and stations, which operate in all counties.

There are several thousand people employed in these units. We have a number of good results. We have good corn hybrids and we also have good strains of wheat, barley, and sunflower, but they should be adapted to all areas; in practical terms, we should generally disseminate all good technologies. All units must obtain appropriate yields.

Indeed, we should concern ourselves with the future, with the need to create new, more productive, and earlier strains. We need a highly productive corn with a shorter ripening period, some 100 days long. We also need an earlier strain of wheat, which can ripen before the drought season; it should also be an efficient strain, with all the other required features. As I said last November—and I do not wish to repeat myself now—we need strains that are capable of producing yields of more than 10,000 kg wheat and barley per hectare and more than 30,000 kg corn per hectare as well as appropriate yields for all industrial plants and other crops.

The results obtained thus far by our agricultural science prove that we have the necessary strength and that it is possible to achieve this, within a short period of time. We need a strain of sunflower with a richer oil content. A year ago, the comrades told me that we already have a seed with more than 50 percent seed oil. Next year we will have the select the appropriate factory where we can process this oil output and also teach the food industry how to obtain it. We need a strain of beet with over 20 percent sugar content and with the other features which we discussed, at the appropriate time, with the people of Fundulea Institute.

Particular attention should be paid to potatoes.

In this connection, we should also revise both our present and future programs. Existing research facilities allow us now to make as much progress in a year as we used to do in 3 and sometimes even 4 years in the past. This means that we will no longer require 10 years to solve the problems in this field, but only 2-3 years! This also applies to vegetable growing, tree growing, and wine growing.

We must seriously examine the situation in zootechnical research. Generally speaking, I believe that zootechny is the sector with the greatest lags, in spite of the fact we scored a number of good results here many years ago. However, I do not understand what happened with this sector: Instead of making progress, zootechnical research has regressed. Unfortunately, it is stagnating, and stagnation means regression. This also applies to all sectors. We will have to examine these problems without delay, as of the start of next year, in order to take the necessary steps to put order in the livestock sector and improve the overall breeding potential, with all that is scientifically required in this respect. Together with the Agricultural Academy, we will have to work out a special program for this sector, so as to radically change, within a few years, the situation in zootechny.

We must seriously concern ourselves with fish breeding, which is also a branch of zootechny. In our country, we have 400,000 hectares of marshes and rivers, which can and must breed fish. Next year, we plan to breed fish in all these areas; all counties should develop appropriate plans, so as to commence fishing in 1990, with a view to securing the full production process in the 1991-92 period. the 1991-92 period.

We should concern ourselves with silkworm-growing—which is also a branch of the livestock sector—and with beekeeping. I do not want to repeat our programs in this area because you know them. I want only to draw attention to the fact that we should pay attention to each program separately and fulfill the established objectives. Only in this way will we be able to achieve a highly profitable agriculture and will we be able to increase the incomes of each unit, of the cooperative workers, of the working people in agriculture, and, above all, thus will we increase agricultural output in all sectors! This is the essential issue of the new agrarian revolution!

I have insisted on these issues because I believe that we should totally eliminate all negative state of affairs and, as of the next year and the first day of the new year, we should improve our overall activity. Indeed, we should see to it that 1989 become the year with the best output in all the sectors of agriculture! Let 1989 be the year in which we demonstrate the power and capability of the cooperative peasantry, of all workers in the field of agriculture, and of experts, as well as the power of our socialist agriculture and of science; thus, let us demonstrate how we work in a revolutionary spirit to implement the new agrarian revolution! (loud, prolonged applause)

We should pay appropriate attention to the increase of the cooperative workers monetary income and the revenues in kind, in proportion with the production. This year, the cooperatives receive 1,100,000 tonnes of wheat, which means for cooperative workers and their families more than 200 kg of wheat per person. You know the provisions regarding the system of revenues in kind. It is obvious that, also in this area, the cooperatives with good results have a surplus of grain and some of these cooperatives were also able to sell some of their surplus to the state. Unfortunately, there are cooperatives with small yields, which cannot even ensure their own needs. I draw attention to the fact that every agricultural worker and each cooperative is responsible for ensuring the necessary agricultural yields for the supply stock and satisfying the needs of cooperative workers with agricultural products.

At the same time, all agricultural state and cooperative units in every county and the entire peasantry should appropriately fulfill their duty of delivering agricultural products to the state stock. Certainly, you are aware of the conditions set for state agricultural enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives and the task incumbent on them. Likewise, you are aware of the duty of people's private households, mainly in the field of livestock breeding, vine-growing, fruit tree growing, and in other sectors, to conclude contracts and deliver to the state a certain amount of products. I do not want to refer to these things now.

The Ministry of Contracting and the Procurement of Agricultural Produce and the other contracting bodies in each sector should conclude contracts on schedule, follow the achievement of production, and take the delivery of products on time, in accordance with the contract stipulations.

I would like to draw attention again to the fact that it is compulsory to conclude contracts and deliver products to the state on schedule, in accordance with the provisions of the law. Only in this way will we be able to ensure a good supply and will we ensure the appropriate implementation of the self-sufficiency program.

We have discussed this issue on other occasions as well, so I do not want to dwell on them any longer. Nevertheless, I draw very seriously the attention of the people's councils, party bodies, and agricultural bodies to their duty to take all the necessary measures to ensure the achievement of production in accordance with the plan provisions and in accordance with the requirements of the state stock and of the supply of agricultural products and foodstuffs. If we do not fulfill this objective it means that we have poor results. In this respect, you know very well that not all the counties have fulfilled their tasks, and when you return home, you should examine the situation and take measures—in accordance with estimates made for each product—and see to it that the appropriate quantity is delivered to the state stock.

In general, we will have to instill more order and discipline in this sector. Next year, we will have to organize better the harvesting so that the established deadlines are not exceeded, apply the technologies which we have discussed, and see to it that the harvesting is completed on time, without losses. We will establish the duties and responsibilities of the agricultural bodies, enterprises, cooperatives, and of the commune and county people's council, which are responsible for the way in which agricultural operations are carried out.

We have discussed issues regarding the food industry. On the basis of ensuring the necessary amount of agricultural, vegetable, and animal products we should achieve the appropriate food industry production in the variety and quantity stipulated by law. The plan itself should be drawn up in accordance with the provisions of the law. We have the necessary conditions, so we should see to it that all the central departments within the food industry revise their activity and fulfill their tasks.

Decisive measures are required so that the food industry can indeed ensure proper supplies of all foodstuffs to the people in accordance with the provisions of the plan and of the self-sufficiency program that you know well.

Concurrently, proper conclusions should also be drawn for the activity in the fields of forestry and water management in regard to the overall activity and the use of waters, particularly the preservation of the quality of our waters. This should be one of our daily concerns! The quality of our waters is of particular importance for our whole nation, the people, animals, and for our general environment! Likewise, in forestry we should completely fulfill the afforestation programs and observe the norms for the utilization and development of forests, which are a general asset and have a particular economic and ecological importance for preserving the environment.

In general, all the sectors within the National Council for Agriculture should draw the necessary conclusions and start taking measures to eliminate shortfalls and perfect the entire activity.

Esteemed comrades, all these require most determined actions in order to perfect the management of agriculture. We have a good democratic system. Nevertheless, we should see to it that all the democratic bodies appropriately carry out their activity, and we should increase the responsibility of the managerial councils and of the general meetings. Let us see to it that cooperative workers understand that they are owners; therefore, they are responsible for the way in which the activity is being carried out. They are the ones who decide on the activity of the cooperative! The working people of state agricultural enterprises should understand that they are owners and that they are responsible for the activity of the enterprises. They should thoroughly examine the development plans and programs and the way in which they are implemented, and should

call to account the managerial bodies—the chairmen, directors, chief-engineers, and all those who are responsible for various sectors of activity.

We should resolutely apply the laws of our country in all areas, and our entire activity should be carried out in completely accordance with the law. All the other regulations and guidance that have no value whatsoever should be completely eliminated. Only the law is compulsory and only law should be the basis of the activity in all sectors!

We will have to examine the way in which the agricultural records operate in communes today, and we have to reestablish all their authoritative rights and revise the plans for crops.

The people's council of the commune—as a state body in the commune—is entirely responsible for the agricultural production. This has always been the case and is likely to remain so! We cannot tolerate the kind of disorder that has cropped up in some places! We should definitely make order and increase the role of the people's councils!

We should see to it that the county agricultural bodies should be technical bodies which really show the cooperative, the state agricultural enterprises, and every type of agricultural producer the way in which they have to fight for production and to observe the law. Today, we have engineers in each cooperative. We should increase the role of these experts and these engineers! We should help them understand new things and new technologies. They also have to understand that they must learn continually and fulfill their duties!

It is not possible to obtain poor yields with the engineers that we have in our units; we should completely change the style of work of our experts and engineers, from top to bottom.

We should increase the responsibility of the National Council for Agriculture and of the councils of the Ministries of Agriculture, Silviculture, and Food Industry. Their activity should be closely linked with production, and with the units, and they should put an end to justifications and work for the unflinching fulfillment of the programs and plans for the development of the production in the respective sectors.

We have wonderful forces, a broad democratic framework, we have experts, we have all we need, and, above all, we have good agricultural workers, a cooperative peasantry and in general a peasantry with a high level of training, and the units which obtain the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" demonstrate that we are able to obtain positive results in all units. Let us do all we can to make next year lead to a general improvement of the whole activity, and thus, at the end of 1989 meeting we will be able to draw up a balance sheet showing our great achievements in agriculture!

We have the necessary potential and we can do it! (loud, prolonged applause)

All these also demand that the activity of the party bodies and organizations in all sectors of activity be improved. We have strong party organizations and a large number of party activists in all units and sectors.

The county party committees should work with utmost responsibility to fulfill their duty in order to ensure an appropriate flow of activity in all sectors, to increase the sense of responsibility, order, and discipline, and they should see to it that the work in every sector is carried out in accordance with the requirements of the new stage in Romania's development and that we develop a revolutionary spirit in all areas and a desire to work and do all we can to unflinchingly fulfill the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference as well as the programs for the general development of our homeland.

We are at the end of a year and we are beginning a new year, 1989. As we have discussed, we should thoroughly prepare the position of the crops and carry out the preparatory operations, so that in spring we can carry out the sowing without having to deal with other preparatory operations—which, as a matter of fact, have a negative effect—and reduce them to the strictly necessary ones.

Let us do all we can also in the field of agriculture and meet the 45th anniversary of the revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th RCP Congress with increasingly better results! Let us use such a system, each month, as to be able to improve and perfect our activity and not to come up with justifications at the end of the next year—as I have mentioned in the first part of my speech—but with good crops!

I stress it again that we have to gather crops and not paper! We do not need papers from anybody! We do not need justification but good crops and good yields in all sectors! This should be the main, and the only concern of all those who work in agriculture! It would be better if those who continue to gather paper and documents were sent to carry out other activities; there is no place for them in agriculture! If the need arises to use a hoe, as the saying goes, one should grab a hoe. Even if he is a minister, he should know how to use a hoe and how to drive a tractor! Only in this way are we able to achieve a good agriculture! We need workers and not paper! We can achieve a modern agriculture only through work! (loud applause) Only in this way will we be able to work in the spirit of the April theses and in the spirit of the documents adopted by the democratic forum in November. Only in this way will we, each of us at his work place, be able to fulfill our duty toward the people, the party, socialism, and toward the requirement to generally raise

our homeland to new peaks of progress and civilization—and to ensure the well-being of our people, Romania's independence and sovereignty, and the victory of communism in Romania! (loud and prolonged applause; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu - RCP!")

This meeting is attended by the basic aktiv in agriculture. I am convinced that all of them will draw the necessary conclusions and will return home with the determination to do all they can to fulfill the objectives of the new agrarian revolution and to achieve a modern, greatly profitable agriculture! (loud applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

With this belief, I wish you, all the working people in agriculture, the whole peasantry, and experts increasingly greater successes in the whole activity!

Being close to the new year, I extend to you best wishes and new year's greetings. I wish you a happy new year, with increasingly better crops!

Much health and happiness, comrades! (loud, prolonged applause, cheers; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu, happy new year!") All those present in the hall rise and chant for minutes on end for the party, for its Central Committee, and for the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu)

Loncar Holds Talks With EC Officials
*AU1912163288 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Dragan Colovic report]

[Text] Yugoslavia and the EC signed a special agreement on scientific and technological cooperation in Brussels today. Here is report from Brussels by Dragan Colovic:

Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, is expected to meet with the President of the EC Commission Jacques Delors at 1600. Although this is a formal meeting prior to tonight's meeting of the Yugoslavia-EC Commission for Cooperation, it is expected that Delors and Loncar will—following the recent meeting between Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC, and Delors—confirm once again their mutual interest in and resoluteness to have even more profound, comprehensive, and richer economic cooperation which will be in the future accompanied by regular political dialogues on the most important international issues.

The agreement on scientific and technological cooperation signed today represents an important contribution to the joint formulation and realization of specific projects which should, in the long run, make the process of adapting, which is to say restructuring, and modernization of the Yugoslav economy easier. The above-mentioned document will indirectly facilitate and stimulate ways for Yugoslavia to be included in the projects of joint interests contained in the EC's program of scientific-technological research and the Eureka program.

The Yugoslav delegation attaches particular importance to the a resolution due to be adopted this evening at the session of the Commission for Cooperation. This resolution particularly stresses the importance of economic reforms in Yugoslavia whose main characteristic is the development of the market economy and, in this context, our country's greater participation in the current world and European economies. The above-mentioned resolution also mentions the specific spheres of cooperation such as science and technology, ecology, energy, transportation, tourism, and so forth. This should elevate the total relations between Yugoslavia and the EC on a new more substantive level, and, of course, stimulate further trade and financial cooperation.

Tomorrow morning, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Karolos Papoulias, chairman of the Council of Ministers, will hold a political discussion. It is expected that they will hold open talks on the current international situation without any, as is stressed by the Yugoslav delegation, ideological or other prejudices.

Mikulic Receives Albanian Foreign Trade Minister
*LD1912171688 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Branko Mikulic, FEC president, today in Belgrade received Albanian Minister of Foreign Trade Shane Korbeci who is on an official visit to our country. Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Nenad Krekic also attended the talks.

Krekic and Korbeci informed the FEC President about the outcome of the trade promotion talks between the two delegations. It was concluded that both sides should invest efforts to achieve and even exceed the agreed level of commodity exchange, and that all possibilities for expanding and diversifying economic relations between the two countries should be investigated. To this end, a mixed committee for economic and technical cooperation will be set up by signing an agreement.

Branko Mikulic stressed that both sides should work toward advancing bilateral relations overall on the basis of mutual recognition, the development of good neighborly relations, and noninterference in the internal affairs. An agreement on border trade to be signed shortly is expected to contribute to this.

The FEC president and the Albanian minister described as exceptionally important the cooperation among the Balkan countries initiated by this year's meeting of the foreign affairs ministers in Belgrade. Further development of this cooperation will contribute to the cause of peace, security, and prosperity in the Balkan countries.

Trade Protocol Signed
*LD1912202888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1915 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Following 2 days of trade negotiations, Nenad Krekic, federal secretary for foreign economic relations, and Shane Korbeci, Albanian minister of foreign trade, signed this evening in Belgrade an agreement on setting up an intergovernmental commission for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation as well as the 1989 trade protocol.

This new body is expected to stimulate more comprehensive economic cooperation between the two countries and to contribute to the efforts to fulfill a plan on the exchange of goods next year totalling 94.6 million dinars, that is, 47.3 million dinars by each side. This would be an 89 percent increase in the volume of trade compared with 1988.

In a statement for TANJUG and Belgrade Television, the two ministers said that the plan is feasible providing there are efforts on both sides. Federal Secretary Nenad Krekic explained that the new trade protocol provides for a wider and better range of products to be traded next year. In addition to electricity and chrome ore, until

recently two most important import items, Yugoslavia will in the future buy from Albania aromatic and medicinal plants and oils, chemical products, oil derivatives, cement, citrus fruit, and consumer goods. Its exports to Albania will include, ferrous and nonferrous products, chemicals, machinery and equipment.

SAWPY Discusses Albanian TV Transmissions
*LD1312001388 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 12 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Nobody in Yugoslavia has given Albania the right to use the telecommunication frequency of the television channel 12, nor has anybody, apart from the federal organs, been able to do so. This was stated today by representatives of the Federal Administration for Radio Communication at the session of the Information and Propaganda Activity Committee of the SWPY Federal conference Presidium. According to the decisions of the European conference for radio-diffusion, held in Stockholm in 1961, every sovereign country has the right to lay down, within its borders, the rules concerning the use of frequencies, and Albania, although not a signatory of those documents, also made use of this rule.

At that conference, representatives of the Federal Administration for Radio Communication said, the television channel 12 was planned for television programs of East European countries, as well as Austria, Germany, and Finland, and for our country, for air traffic radio navigation. This was our choice. Thus, we were not among the states envisaged to transmit television programs on this channel, and neither was Albania, since it did not attend the conference.

In 1979, the international association decided that television channel 12 could be used for television purposes throughout Europe on condition that this did not hinder the work of other transmitters and stations.

According to unofficial information, representatives of the Federal Administration for Radio Communication said, Titograd Radio and Television began using television channel 12 on Mt Bjelasica, which had been planned for channel 6 as far back as 1963, although its official purpose is air traffic navigation. The reason for this had been the desire to receive Italian television programs via the transmitter on Mt Lovcen, which is received on the fifth channel.

Between 1963 and 1976, the transmitter on Mt Bjelasica operated on channel 12 without permission from or registration with the International Telecommunication Union. Later, when the use of this channel was allowed throughout Europe, the relevant organs of Montenegro asked permission to use Bjelasica. For this it also received agreement from the Federal Administration,

provided it obtained agreement from foreign administrations in order to avoid interference in other transmissions. Relevant Montenegrin bodies gave permission for the operation of Bjelasica only in March 1988. The question which arises is, why did this take over 10 years.

Meanwhile, Albania built the Kukes transmitter, by which it transmits television programs which can also be received in parts of our country. The International Telecommunication Union has registered this transmitter. Representatives of the Federal Administration for Radio Communication also said that they had not objected because had they done so, Albania would have to use some other channel, and this would have inflicted more harm on our country.

The participants in today's meeting received a letter from Vojin Dakovic, former director general of Titograd radio and television, with whose name the alleged ceding of channel 12 to Albania is very often linked. In his letter, Dakovic explained what had actually taken place.

Assessing that with channel 12, Albania had created a significant position from which to indoctrinate the population in some of our areas, particularly in Kosovo, the committee decided that relevant federal organs and the FEC should be informed of what had been learned and said at the session, although there are still a number of matters which had not been explained.

Committee members adopted the report on the information and propaganda activity of the TANJUG agency to other countries. It was decided that despite the economic difficulties in the country, resources should be provided for this agency to carry out its obligations to inform the foreign public about events in our country, as well as about our attitudes to events abroad. Never has TANJUG's task been more important, or even more difficult, it was said at the session. The committee members decided that efforts to modernize TANJUG's technical equipment should be endorsed. Even if the agency's correspondents' network abroad could not be increased, it should not be allowed to be reduced.

In conclusion the participants backed the initiative of the republican social council for relations with other countries of the SR of Serbia that a "white paper on Kosovo" be printed. It was decided that relevant federal institutions and the FEC be informed of this, and of the need for such a publication for the world and our public.

Moscow Ceremony Honors Dead Air Force Pilots
*LD1512174088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1259 GMT 15 Dec 88*

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—A ceremony was held in Moscow today to dispatch the bodies of seven Yugoslav Air Force pilots killed in a plane crash near Yerevan.

The ceremony took place at Sheremetyevo Airport and was attended by Marshal Aleksandr Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Force and USSR deputy defense minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev; Army General Aleksey Lizichev; Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Valentin Nikiforov; representatives of the CPSU Central Committee, Soviet Army officers, generals, and others. The ceremony was also attended by the staff of the Yugoslav Embassy and the Yugoslav military mission in Moscow, representatives of economic organizations, and other Yugoslav citizens in Moscow.

Marshal Aleksandr Yefimov, Yugoslav Ambassador Milan Veres, and a representative of the SSR of Armenia spoke at the ceremony. Marshal Yefimov stressed the pilots' great courage and spoke highly about the help they were going to deliver to the stricken people of Armenia. He expressed profound condolences to the families and relatives of the dead pilots, to the Yugoslav Government, and to the Yugoslav people.

While the military band played the funeral march, Soviet soldiers carried the coffins with the pilots' bodies onto the plane. This was followed by 1-minute of silence as a sign of respect for the pilots whose lives were cut short by the tragedy which occurred while they were on their way to help the victims of another tragedy.

Yugoslav, Soviet Scholars on 1948 Conflict
*LD1112113288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 10 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Dec (TANJUG)—Stalinism was the main cause of the 1948 conflict between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The conflict greatly damaged Yugoslavia, the workers and communist movements, all democratic forces in the world, and finally the Soviet Union itself. Yugoslav resistance to Stalinist hegemony greatly contributed to being able to pose in a new way and begin to resolve many topical issues of the modern era, socialism, and relations within the workers and communist movements. The Belgrade and Moscow Declarations are an invaluable and permanent foundation for further developing relations between our two countries and parties, relations in the workers and communist movements, and relations between socialist countries on the whole. The struggle against Stalinism is still a major complex task. The development of socialism and new relations in the revolutionary movement will greatly depend on accomplishing this task.

Radovan Radonjic, member of the LCY Central Committee, summarized in these few assessments the degree of agreement reached by Yugoslav and Soviet scholars and political workers at a recent meeting in Moscow on the 1948 conflict. Branko Petranovic and Vjekoslav Mikecin also took part in the meeting. Radonjic talked about the results 2 days ago at the meeting "Tito and the Conception of Socialism" in Kumrovec.

The very fact that this meeting of scholars in Moscow took place shows that the 1948 conflict is no longer taboo in relations between the two parties, that is, that conditions are ripe for it to be discussed in a rational fashion "not in order to repay, as Radonjic says, historical debts and to settle old accounts, but so that all burdens still weighing down Yugoslav-Soviet relations can be lifted and conditions created for full equal cooperation." In that sense, an agreement was reached that authorized shorthand reports on speeches by all participants in the Moscow meeting be published both in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

Speaking about the task, Radonjic does not disregard differences in points of view held by Soviet and SFRY scholars about causes of the conflict itself. Soviet scholars were inclined to talk more about its moral messages, whereas we tried to channel the discussion into explaining the very character and nature of the conflict. The Soviet scholars displayed a basically positive approach and liking for the presentation of facts, whereas we tried to direct the discussion toward the inner logic of the historical process in the context of which the drama of this conflict developed. They tried to limit the problem to the 1948-53 period, whereas we insisted on expanding the timeframe. Most of the Soviet scholars were inclined to see the causes of the conflict solely in the context of Soviet-Yugoslav interstate relations, whereas we supported the thesis that it was a conflict between the authentic Yugoslav socialist revolution and a bureaucratic-dogmatic practice.

However, Radonjic stresses, these differences "did not prevent the discussion from being very open, dynamic, critical, and polemical in a constructive manner; directed toward even the most sensitive questions". In that sense, he underlines the identity of stances, let us say, about the critique of Stalinism while stressing that Soviet science today does not reduce Stalinism to a personality cult.

"They came out, he says, with some very trenchant radical assessments which even go beyond what we say about Stalinism and its social nature and origins." Radonjic also recalls that Soviet scholars now refer to socialism as a global process, that is to say, they have ridden themselves of that narrow approach with which the idea of socialism as a world system was considered. Their efforts to speak positively about the self-management socialist democratic alternative are also evident.

Giving his impressions of the Moscow meeting, Radonjic said in conclusion that new Soviet ideologists, the ideologists of perestroika, are eager to shed light on the 1948 conflict, not only as an argument for a critique of the old system, but also in the context of the difficulties which they have in their relations with some other socialist countries (Poland and Hungary, for example).

Recently, says Radonjic, a Soviet-Polish commission was set up whose task is to lead to the elimination of the so-called blank spots in bilateral relations in the near and more distant future.

Set in the context of perestroika—which according to Soviet scholars is totally supported by some, but not others who do not believe in its social and historic origins—the meeting between Yugoslav and Soviet political workers and scholars, held recently in Moscow at the Soviets initiative, was apparently only the beginning of new meetings and new exchanges of views, which is endorsed by participants from both countries.

Presidency Discusses Dizdarevic Visit to GDR
*LD1412203288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1619 GMT 14 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today the SFRY Presidency considered and adopted a report on the visit to the GDR by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency. The SFRY Presidency also examined all aspects of Yugoslav-Australian relations in light of the recent events in Sydney. The SFRY Presidency was also informed about all available facts concerning court action against the SFRY consul general in Chicago, Bahrudin Bijedic.

It was said that the visit to the GDR and Raif Dizdarevic's talks with the State Council chairman and SED general Secretary and other top officials were prolific and very useful and served to reiterate the high level of cooperation and friendly relations and to further promote relations between Yugoslavia and the GDR. The SFRY Presidency assessed cooperation in all areas positively and stressed the importance of the fact that during the visit both sides showed readiness to further economic cooperation through a more efficient use of high forms of long-term cooperation. To this end, the two sides agreed on a long-term program of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation up to year 2000, reached an agreement on extending the so-called aluminium arrangement worth \$300 million up to 1994, and an agreement on cooperation in the field of information.

The Presidency was also informed about the talks which he and the state council chairman had on developments in international relations during which both sides underlined the positive changes conducive to detente and to improving the overall political climate in the world. At the same time, they agreed that international economic relations and problems of development had been, unfortunately, left outside favorable political trends. During the talks the need was noted for speeding up the disarmament process in both the nuclear and conventional spheres and in this context a positive assessment was made of the Soviet Government's unilateral decision to

reduce conventional armed forces. The SFRY Presidency stressed the importance of the view shared by both sides about the significance of the Nonaligned Movement's independent role and its active influence on all positive processes.

The SFRY Presidency also discussed all aspects of Yugoslav-Australian relations in light of the recent events provoked by members of the profascist hostile emigres and which resulted in the closure of the Yugoslav General Consulate in Sydney.

The Presidency expressed hope that the legitimate rights and demands of the SFRY will be respected in the future and that, in line with the norms of international law and behavior, the Australian side will prevent any future activities likely to hamper or threaten the normal functioning of our diplomatic and consular missions and which are in contrast with good Yugoslav-Australian relations. In the view of the SFRY Presidency, the existing uncalled-for situation should not affect other spheres of Yugoslav-Australian relations and it would be in the interest of both sides if the present situation is overcome.

The SFRY Presidency was also informed about all available facts about the court procedure in the United States against Bahrudin Bijedic, the SFRY consul general in Chicago. The need was stressed for further establishing all relevant facts in order to provide full insight into the case and to safeguard the interest and reputation of the SFRY and of Yugoslav diplomatic and consular representatives as a necessary prerequisite for their normal work.

Bosnia To Replace 'Neum Affair' Officials
*LD2012014588 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2352 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, Dec 19 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina decided this evening that all officials involved in the "Neum affair" be replaced or recalled by January 27 next year.

The big political and financial scandal has for months been the focus of attention of the Yugoslav media. Many prominent politicians were found to have taken long-term credits and used them for purposes other than stated to build villas in the coastal summer resort of Neum under conditions inconceivable for ordinary citizens.

Seven members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina, League of Communists Central Committee were forced to resign over the affair on December 9. They include Milanko Renovica, head of the Yugoslav party in 1986/87, Nikola Stojanovic, one-time member of the country's top party leadership, Mato Anric, until recently president of the Republican Presidency, and Hvoje Istuk, who has for years been at the very top of Bosnia-Herzegovinian politics.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Branko Mikulic was also mentioned in an unfavourable context at the Central Committee session devoted to the "Neum affair."

The Assembly today instructed the republican government to speed along the implementation of a regulation which would prevent owners from selling the Neum villas, built at the expense of society.

The republics state organs are responsible for taking measures to confiscate the illegally gained property and for setting in motion the machinery of responsibility under the law of individuals who illegally used credits and other privileges to build the villas.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly also appealed to the assemblies of the other Yugoslav republics and of the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo to in a similar way bring to account the protagonist of "all other Yugoslav Neums."

Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP Chooses Candidates
*LD1412000288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1802 GMT 13 Dec 88*

[Summary] Sarajevo, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—Today's Bosnia-Herzegovina SAWP Republican Conference session delegates today elected by secret ballot, 6 out of 11 listed candidates for three republican Presidency members. Those elected are: Muhamed Berberovic, Esad Horozic, Dr Mladen Ivanic, Dr Vesna Kazazic, Jovo Milesic, and Mustafa Poljarevic. Election of the members will be carried out by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly at its next session. At the end of today's session the conference accepted a proposal to raise a question connected with the founding of the socialist-democratic alliance in Slovenia at tomorrow's SAWPY Federal Conference session. The delegation of the Republican Conference will question the aims of the alliance and ask if it encroaches upon the principles of the political system.

Presidency Elects New Members
*LD1912145788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0939 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] Sarajevo, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—During a joint session in Sarajevo of all its chambers, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly today elected by secret vote

Muhamed Berberovic, Esad Horozic, and Dr Mladen Ivanic members of the Republic's Presidency. Dr Mladen Ivanic received 141 votes, Esad Horozic 135, and Muhamed Berberovic 130.

Earlier, Mato Andric and Gojko Ubiparip were relieved of their Presidency membership because of their retirement. Assembly President Zlatan Karavdic stressed, among other things, that they had made a notable contribution to clarifying the Agrokomerc scandal.

New Internal Secretary
*LD1912175988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Summary] Sarajevo, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Bosnia and Herzegovina Assembly today elected, in a secret vote, Muhamed Besic as the republican secretary of internal affairs and member of the republican Executive Council. The delegates first cast a secret vote on the six proposed candidates for the office of the Bosnia and Herzegovina secretary of internal affairs. Because no candidate received the necessary majority, a second round was held in which the delegates voted on the two candidates who had received most votes in the first round. Muhamed Besic won 129 votes out of possible 232 votes, while the other candidate, Sead Hodzic, won 102 votes.

FEC Presents Draft Decision on Social Plan
*LD1912195988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 19 Dec 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 19 December (TANJUG)—The Federal Executive Council today presented to the SFRY Assembly a draft decision on preparing and adopting changes to the Yugoslav social plan for the 1986-1990 period. In tackling the implementation of the necessary changes, the FEC plan proceeds from the strategic directions of the reform of the economic system, appropriate changes in the planning system and its new role, efforts to reschedule the country's foreign debt, and the program of measures and activities to reduce inflation and stabilize the economy.

Consonant with this, says the decision, by the end of the decade the Yugoslav social plan will change in the areas of joint interests and objectives of the socioeconomic development, production orientation and structural changes of the economy, and also in the section referring to projections and material parameters of the development, so that it can be coordinated with the material possibilities of the economy.